

NYU - 80657



31142 02631 4420

DT87 .H37 1998

Domination and resistance

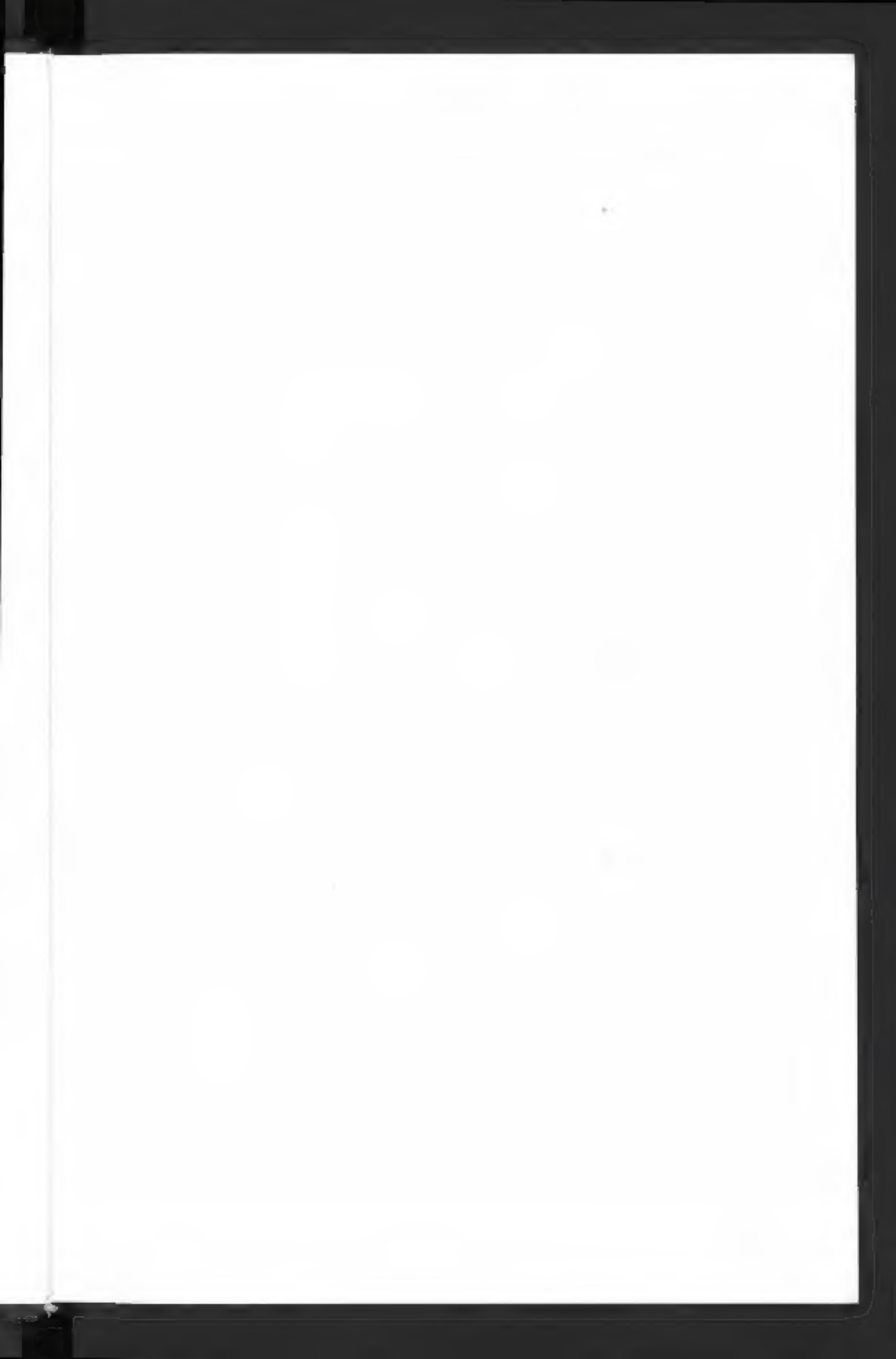
DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE

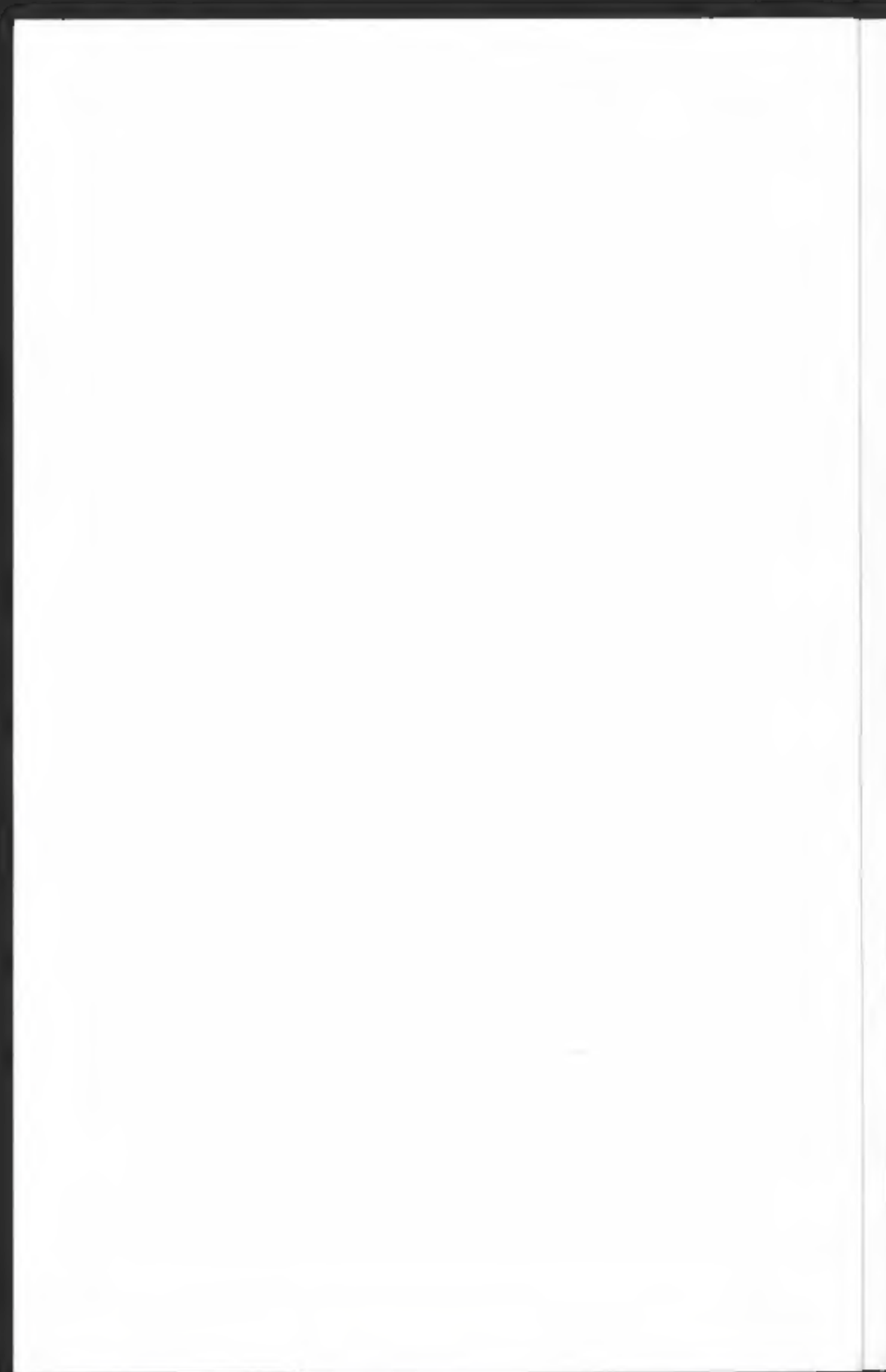
MICHAEL G. HASEL





**Elmer Holmes
Bobst Library
New York
University**





DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE

PROBLEME DER ÄGYPTOLOGIE

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

WOLFGANG SCHENKEL
DONALD B. REDFORD

ELFTER BAND

MICHAEL G. HASEL
DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE



DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE

*Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant,
ca. 1300-1185 B.C.*

BY

MICHAEL G. HASEL



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
1998

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hasel, Michael G.

Domination and resistance : Egyptian military activity in the southern Levant, ca. 1300 - 1185 B.C. / by Michael G. Hasel.

p. cm. — (Probleme der Ägyptologie, ISSN 0169-9601 ; 10. Bd.)

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 900410984 6 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Egypt—History, Military—Sources. 2. Egypt—History—To 332 B.C.—Sources. 3. Syria—History—To 333 B.C.—Sources. 4. Palestine—History—To 70 A.D.—Sources. 5. Egypt—Antiquities. 6. Excavations (Archaeology)—Syria. 7. Excavations (Archaeology)—Palestine. I. Title. II. Series.

DT87.H37 1998

932—dc21

98-15904

CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek-CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Hasel, Michael G.:

Domination and resistance : Egyptian military activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300 - 1185 B.C. / by Michael G. Hasel.

— Leiden ; Boston ; Köln ; Brill, 1998

(Probleme der Ägyptologie ; Bd. 11)

Zugl.: Tucson, Univ. of Arizona, Diss.

ISBN 90-04-10984-6

ISSN 0169-9601

ISBN 90 04 10984 6

© Copyright 1998 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910
Danvers MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To the memory of
my father

Gerhard F. Hasel

July 27, 1935 - August 11, 1994

"Those who walk uprightly enter into peace;
they find rest . . ."
Isaiah 57:2



TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xvii
LIST OF TABLES	xix
ABBREVIATIONS	xxi
INTRODUCTION	i
Research Design	7
Identification, History and Chronology	8
Destruction Correlates	9
Elements of Continuity/Discontinuity	10
Limitations	11
Methodology	12
1 HISTORICAL, TEXTUAL AND ICONOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS OF EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY	15
Background to Egyptian Military Documents	15
Historiography and Egyptian Military Documents	15
Ideology	17
Kingship and Legitimation	19
Intended Audience	20
Textual Sources in New Kingdom Egypt	21
<i>hw</i> Formula Reports	23
Daybook Reports	23
Literary Reports	25
Summary	26
Terminology and Iconography	26
Battle	28
<i>hw</i>	28
Enemy Defeat	29

<i>u f</i>	29
<i>phd</i>	30
<i>pept</i>	31
<i>fb</i>	33
<i>mh</i>	34
<i>nwh</i>	35
<i>hwa</i>	36
<i>hwtj</i>	37
<i>hsk</i>	38
<i>hth</i>	39
<i>hf</i>	40
<i>hth</i>	52
<i>hulb</i>	53
<i>smj</i>	54
<i>shj</i>	56
<i>skj</i>	57
<i>sksk</i>	57
<i>sd</i>	59
<i>gbgb</i>	61
<i>tit</i>	61
<i>dt</i>	62
Annihilation	63
<i>sp</i>	63
<i>tm</i>	64
Enslavement/Tribute/Gifts	65
<i>in</i>	65
<i>int</i>	69
<i>hsk</i> (Verb)	71
<i>hsktu</i> and <i>hsk(t)</i> (Noun)	73
<i>kl'</i>	74
Military Action Against Crops/Orchards/Trees	75
<i>fk</i>	76
<i>prt</i>	77
<i>mt</i>	8
Iconography	82
Conflagration	84
Metaphor for the King	84
Metaphor for the Egyptian Army and Battle	85
Direct References to Conflagration	86
Conclusions	87

II ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTH- ERN LEVANT CITY-STATE AND TERRITORIAL ELEMENTS	91
The Nature of Egyptian Presence in the Southern Levant	92
Egyptian Architecture	93
"Governor's" Residences	93
Forts on the "Way of Horus"	96
Temples	99
Naval Bases	100
Egyptian Material Culture	102
Armory and Weapons	103
Ivory	105
Doorjambs and Lintels	106
Stelae, Statues, and Plaques	107
Pottery and Alabaster	108
Anthropoid Coffins	110
Pendants and Amulets	112
Scarab Seals	112
Hieratic Inscriptions	113
Summary	114
Seti I	118
General Chronology	118
Toward a Chronology of the Asiatic Campaigns	119
Archaeological Correlates for Military Activity	124
Transjordan	124
Pahal/Pella	124
Cisjordan	129
Akko	130
Beth 'Anath	132
Beth Shan	133
Gaza	137
Hammath	138
Hazor	138
Yeno'am	146
Summary	150
Ramses II	151
General Chronology	151
Toward a Chronology of the Asiatic Campaigns	152

Archaeological Correlates for Military Activity	154
Syria	154
Kadesh	156
Transjordan ..	159
Moab	159
Dibon	163
<i>Betpetet</i>	165
Pahul/Pella	166
Cisjordan	168
Akko	169
Aphiek	170
Beth 'Anath	170
Beth Shan	171
Cana	173
Dor	173
Sharhan/Sharuhen	174
Yeno'am	175
Summary	175
Merenptah	178
General Chronology	178
Toward a Chronology of the Asiatic Campaign	178
Archaeological Correlates for Military Activity	181
Ashkelon	181
Gezer	184
Yeno'am	188
Summary	188
Conclusions	189
 III ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTH- ERN LEVANT: SOCIOETHNIC AND SOCIOCUL- TURAL ELEMENTS	 194
Israel	94
Egyptian Sources	94
Occurrences and Context	94
Identification	95
The Name "Israel"	95
Nature of Israel: The Determinative	198
Nature of Israel: The Karnak Reliefs	199

Nature of Israel: The Term <i>peṯ</i>	201
The Location of Israel	203
Archaeological Data	204
Survey and Excavation Results	204
Chronology	205
Ethnicity and Archaeology	206
Continuity vs. Discontinuity	207
Technological Innovations and the Settlement	210
Summary	215
Shasu (<i>šṣr</i>)	217
Egyptian Sources	217
Occurrences and Context	217
Set I	217
Ramesses II	218
Merenptah	219
Iconographic Sources	219
Identification	220
Nature of <i>šṣr</i> : Etymology	220
Nature of <i>šṣr</i> : The Determinatives and Semantics	220
Context	220
Nature of <i>šṣr</i> : The Iconographic Context	225
Location	227
Location of <i>šṣr</i> : The Semantic and Iconographic	228
Contexts	228
Location of <i>šṣr</i> : Toponym Lists and Sequence	229
Contexts	229
Archaeological Data	232
Pastoral Nomadic Occupational Evidence	232
Sedentary Occupational Evidence	234
Summary	235
Conclusions	236
IV TOWARD A PARADIGM FOR EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY DURING THE XIX DYNASTY	240
Suggested Paradigm of Egyptian Military Activity	240
Focus of Destruction	240
Enemies and Inhabitants	242
Cities and Villages	242
Means of Destruction	244

Open Terram Warfare	244
Infantry	245
Chariotry	245
Siege Warfare	246
Battering Ram	246
Scaling	247
Sapping	247
Conflagration	248
Extent of Destruction	249
Gates and Defensive Systems	250
Administrative, Culic, and Domestic Buildings	250
Fields, Orchards, and Crops	251
Summary	252
Implications and Conclusions	254
 APPENDIX THE STRUCTURE OF THE MERENPTAH STELA	 257
 WORKS CITED	 272
 INDEXES	 283
Index of Authors	283
Index of Subjects and Places	302
Index of Terms	371

PREFACE

Over a century has passed since Perrot's pioneer excavations at Tell-Hesi in 1890 opened the horizons of archaeological research in the southern Levant. The campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798 had facilitated an increase of knowledge in Egyptian history and had in effect, given birth to the infant discipline of Egyptology nearly a century earlier. It can certainly be said that the amount of information produced from these two areas of the world has exponentially increased over time so that we find today in the present the pressure for specialization in either Egyptology or Syro-Palestinian archaeology. Indeed, the results of such detailed attention have provided outstanding and penetrating work in particulars, increasing our understanding as a whole. Concurrently, it has led to an often unavoidable isolation from surrounding disciplines that may impact the interpretation of events as they relate to a wider understanding of sociopolitical dynamics and interaction in the ancient Near East.

The object of the present work is to suggest a procedure for integrating the various facets of Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian historical sources (military accounts, toponyms, iconography) and archaeological remains, overcoming the apparent conflict between text and *tell*. What follows is a study of methodological procedure in both disciplines and by necessity focuses on a "case study" for such integration: Egyptian military activity. The integration of sources results in a suggested paradigm for Egyptian military tactics which will facilitate interpretation inferences in the field.

This present study is a revised doctoral dissertation presented to the Department of Near Eastern Studies of The University of Arizona. It is impossible to mention all those who contributed to its completion, for the areas and facets that in some way augmented the process were many.

Special thanks are reserved for William G. Dever who first introduced me to fieldwork at Gezer. Since then he has been a constant source of encouragement and inspiration throughout my graduate studies and as director of my dissertation during its inception and subsequent two years of research and writing. Appreciation is also extended to other committee members who contributed significant suggestions and insights along the way. Professors Al Leonard, Jr.,

Classics, J. Edward Wright, Near Eastern Studies, Richard H. Wilkinson, Egyptology, and T. Patrick Gaibert and David Killick, Anthropology.

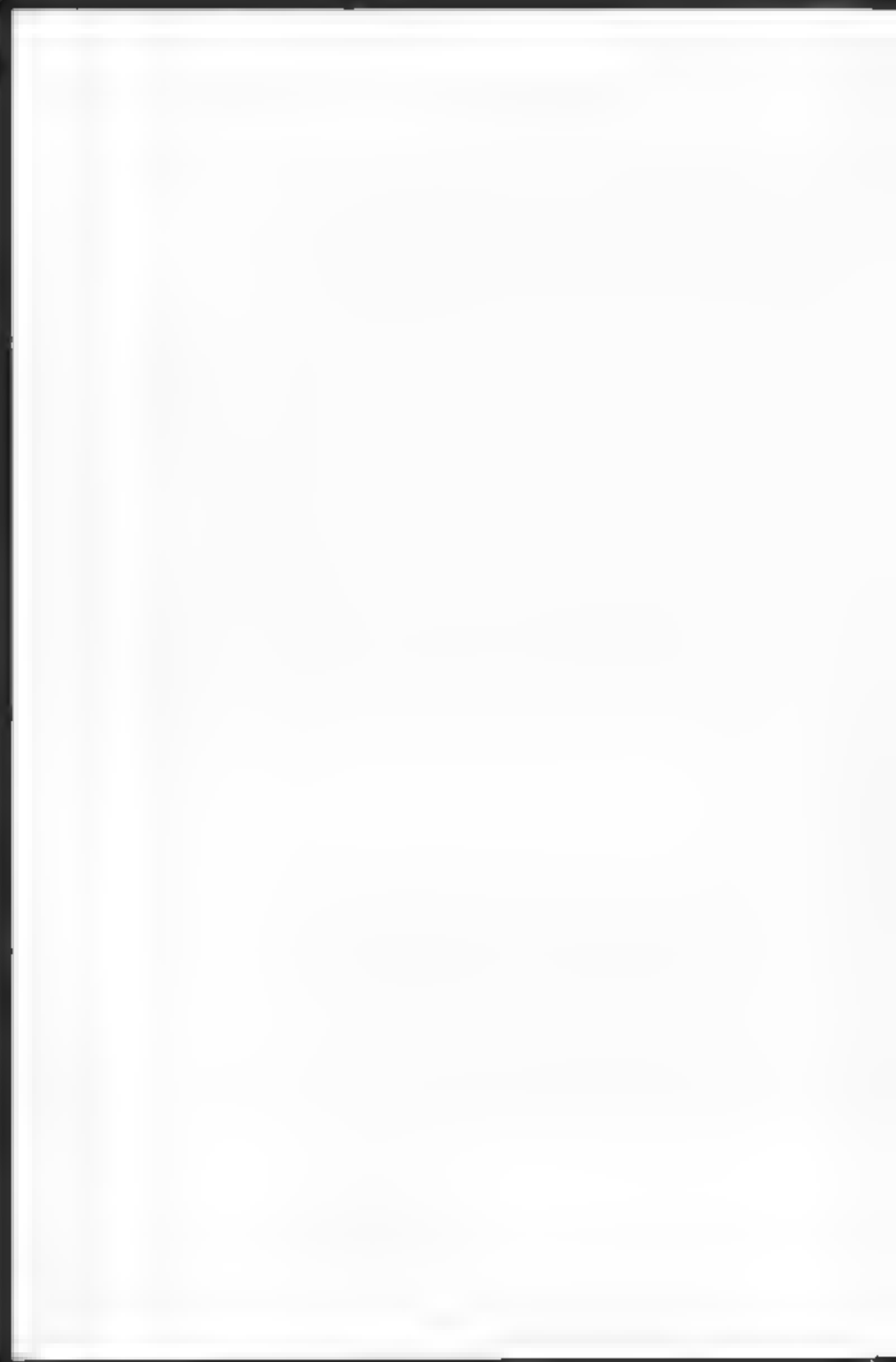
Funding for this project was provided in part through a Samuel H. Kress Foundation Fellowship from the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem, in 1995-96. The kind assistance of the Albright staff, Sy Gann, Edna Sachar, Nadia Bandak, made this year most beneficial for research, writing, learning, and building lasting friendships.

This year abroad made it possible to consult numerous specialists in both Syro-Palestinian archaeology and Egyptology. Gratitude is extended to the kind offices of Michal Artzy, University of Haifa, Jacqueline Balout, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, Arnon Ben-Dor, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Stephen Bourke, Pella Project, Trade Dothan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Yossi Garfinkel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Sy Gann, W. F. Albright Institute, James K. Hoffmeier, Wheaton College, Amihai Mazar, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, William J. Mumane, Memphis State University, Anthony J. Spalinger, University of Auckland, Lawrence E. Stager, Harvard University, Kent Weeks, The American University in Cairo, and James W. Justin, Cornell University. While I take full responsibility for the content and conclusions reached in this study, I thank these individuals for providing stimulating discussion and recent research results.

Research was conducted at a number of institutions that were most accommodating. I would like to thank the following for extending library privileges: The American University in Cairo, Andrews University, W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Arizona State Museum Library, Brush School of Archaeology, Jerusalem, École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Rockefeller Museum, Oriental Institute Archives, The University of Chicago, Graduate Library, The University of Michigan, and the Anthropology Library, The University of Pennsylvania.

Special thanks go to Ms. Patricia Radler, desk editor for Ancient Near East and Asian Studies and the staff at E. J. Brill for their excellent and efficient assistance in getting this volume off the press. I must also express my thanks to those who have contributed to the copy-editing work of this volume, especially Mrs. Bonnie Proctor and Professor Leona Golden Running.

In the end, this work would never have been possible without the constant encouragement of Giselle who embarked on this journey with me not fully knowing the triumphs and sacrifices ahead. Her unwavering love and faithfulness during these years have given renewed strength and purpose.



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1, Ramses II trampling on the head of an enemy	33
Figure 2, Seti I receiving the sword to smite his enemies	38
Figure 3, Seti I attacks the town of Kadesh	46
Figure 4, Ramesseum: Ramses II attacks the town of Dapur	47
Figure 5, Ramses II attacking the town of Asko and Asara	49
Figure 6, Merneptah attacks the town of Ashkelon	50
Figure 7, Ramses III attacks the town of Tunip	51
Figure 8, Seti I presenting tribute from the <i>Sea Campaign</i>	58
Figure 9, The cutting of trees in Lebanon before Seti I	83
Figure 10, "Governor's" residences in the southern Levant	95
Figure 11, A local Canaanite ruler on an ivory from Megiddo	107
Figure 12, Map of cities mentioned in the military documents of Seti I	126
Figure 13, Map of cities mentioned in the military documents of Ramses II	158
Figure 14, Map of cities mentioned in the military documents of Merneptah	183
Figure 15, New proposed structure	267



LIST OF TABLES

Table 1, <i>iw.tw</i> texts	24
Table 2, Chronology of the campaigns by Ramses II	57



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

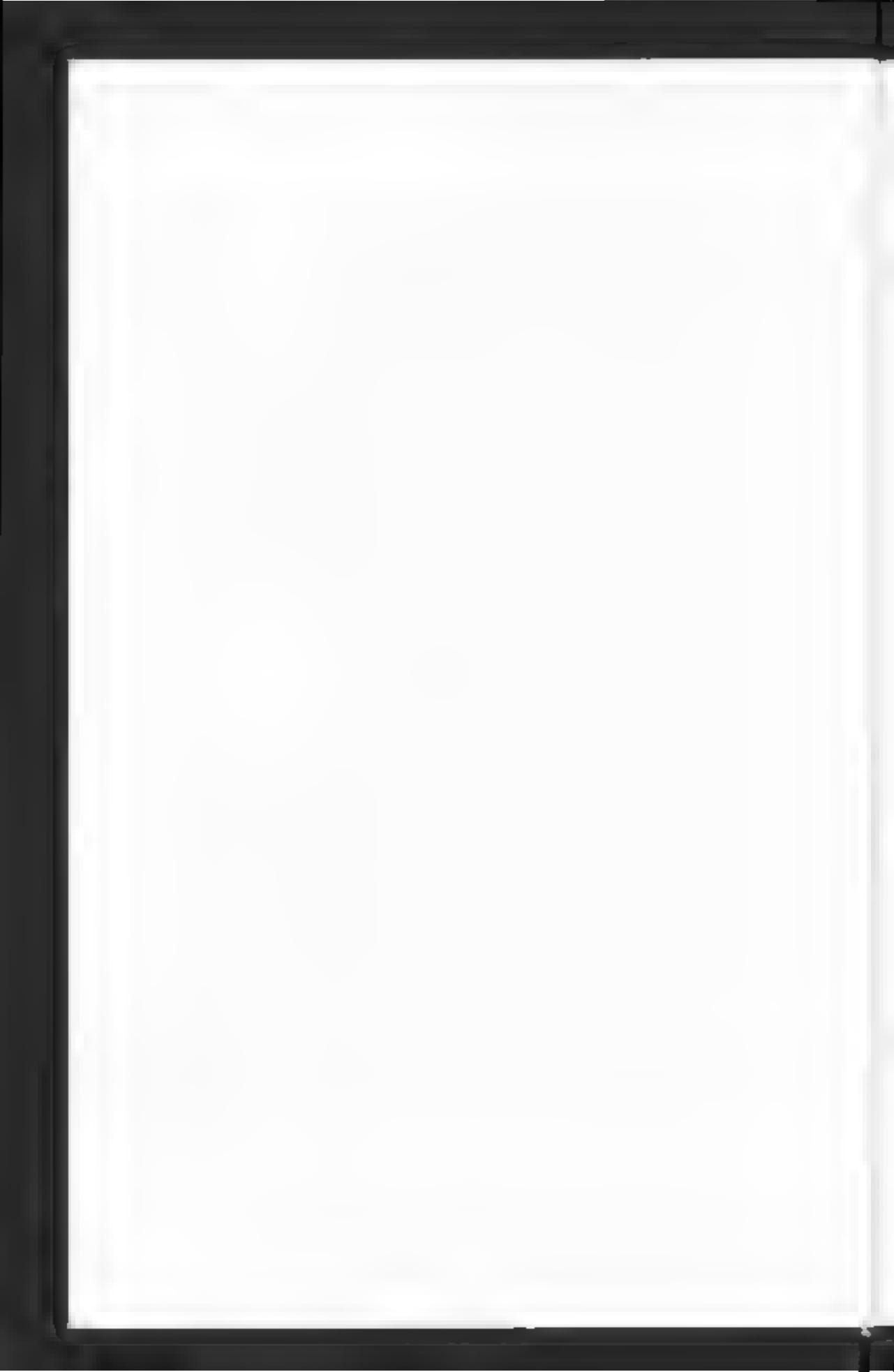
A	Abydos, Temple of Ramses II
A-S	Amada Stela
Ak	Aksha Temple
As	Aswan
AS	Abu Simbel
AW	Amara West
B-S S	First Beth Shan Stela
B-S S	Second Beth Shan Stela
Bul	"Bulletin," Battle of Kadesh
BW	Beit el-Wâli
C	Cairo
ChB	Papyrus Chester Beatty III, verso, 2-3
ChB	Papyrus Chester Beatty III, verso, 1
CH	Campaign against the Hittites, Undated
CL	Campaign against the Libyans
Cl	Clysma
CQA	Campaign Against Qadesh and Amurru
CSP	Campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan, Year 1
CYL	Campaign to Yenoam and Lebanon
CG	Fragment of a Granite Column with Libyan War Text
GS	Gebel Shalut
H	Heliopolis
I	Abu Simbel, N. Wall of the Great Hall
IS	Israel Stela
K	Karnak
K ₁	Karnak, N.-W. Corner of the "Cour de la cachette"
K ₂	Karnak, W. Face of W. Wall between Pylons IX and X
K ₃	Karnak, Palimpsest, S. Wall exterior, Hypostyle Hall
Kan	Kanas
KAS	Kom el-Ahmar Stela
L	Luxor, Undated War Scenes
La	Luxor
L ₁	Luxor, Pylon, N. (front) Face
L ₂	Luxor, Court of Ramses II, E. Wall S. Half S.-E. Wall S. Face
L	Luxor, Court of Amenophis III, W. Wall exterior

L	Luxor, palimpsest, Pylon (W. Tower, N. Face)
LWI	Great Libyan War Inscription
M	Memphis
R	Ramesseum: "Poem" = Pylon II, N. Tower, Front Face
R ₁	Ramesseum: "Bulletin" = Pylon I, N. Tower, Rear Face
R ₂	Ramesseum: "Bulletin" = N. Wall Destroyed, 2nd Court
Reliefs	Pylon II, N. Tower, Rear Face
Ri	Papyrus Raie
S	Papyrus Salber III
I	Ianis
T-S	Triumph-Scene
IM	Tell es-Maskhuta, Pithom Sirla
TR	Tell er-Ratāba
VC	Victory Column, Libyan War, Year 5

Other Abbreviations

ANET	Pritchard, J. B., ed. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University, 1950
ARE	Breasted, J. H. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents</i> , vols. 1-4. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1906
DLE	Lesko, L. H., ed. <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> , vols. 1-2. Berkeley: B. G. Schrieber, 1982-1990
EA	<i>El Amarna</i> . Refers to the numbering of the letters in Knudtzon, J. A. <i>Die El Amarna Tafeln</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907-1925
AbO	<i>Anschriftentexte aus Boghazköi</i> . Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916
KRI	Kitchen, K. A. <i>Ramesseid Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical</i> , 7 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1969

- MH I* The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I: The Earlier Records of Ramses III* Oriental Institute Publications 8 Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1930
- MH II* The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II: The Later Historical Records of Ramses III* Oriental Institute Publications 9 Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1932
- Urk* Sethe, K., and Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, vol. 4 Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906-1921
- Wb* Eriman, A. and Grapow, H. *Wörterbuch des ägyptischen Sprachs*, 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926-1931



INTRODUCTION

The impact of military activity on sociopolitical dynamics is widely recognized in the fields of sociology, social anthropology, and archaeology. Egyptian military activity continues to play a significant role in historical reconstruction by specialists in the ancient Near East. The nature of Egyptian military activity, its tactics, its effects on the archaeological record, and its impact on Levantine culture during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition is the subject of this study.

It is well attested that the Bronze Age came to a violent end in a series of severe destructions that occur at sites throughout the southern Levant for a period of about a century.¹ In the words of one

On the sociology of warfare, see Jacobs 1973 and Tilley 1990.

For social anthropological aspects of warfare and its related roles in the interaction and development of complex societies, see Fried 1964: 21–80; Caserio 1976; Nettleship, Givens, and Nettleship 1979; Webster 1983: 137; Renfrew 1986a, and Renfrew and Bahn 1991: 193.

16. Nettleship, Givens, and Nettleship 1979; Webster 1983: 137; Renfrew 1986a, and Renfrew and Bahn 1991: 193.

Archaeological research has strongly focused attention on warfare for considerable time. More recent treatments include the works of Freu and Sabido 1984 and Freidel 1986 on Maya warfare and Vera 1984 on the archaeology of warfare.

¹ Sites that exhibit evidence of discontinuity and/or destruction in Canaanite include Tell Abu Hawam Stratum VC; Balassi; Herrera, and Artzy 1993: 11–12; Ashkei Stratum A; P. Beke and Kochava 1981: 1993: 68; Ashdod Stratum IV; M. Dothan 1979: 1993a: 89; Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum C; Greenberg 1983: 24; Beth Shean Levels IX and VII; A. Mazur 1993; Beth Shean Stratum IV; Bunimovitz and Leshem 1993: 15; Beit Kelso 1968: 32; 1993: 161; Tell Da Stratum VI; Biran 1983a: 326–30; 1983: 68–70; Tell el-Farah A Stratum I Period VIIa; Chandon 1993: 44; Tell el-Farah S; Reshef and Yonah 1993: 42; Gezer Stratum XX; Dever 1971: 1986; Hazor Strata VIII; Dothan and Yadin 1964a: 606; Ben-Tor 1993a: 17; Jaffa Stratum IVB; Kaplan and Renfrew-Kaplan 1993: 69; Jericho Stratum P-1; Ussishkin 1993: 898; Megiddo Stratum VIIB; Saito 1993: 1012; Tell Miqne-Ekron Stratum VII; T. Dothan 1969; Tell Moir Stratum 7; M. Dothan 1993c: 10–3; Qalady Stratum V; Ben-Tor 1993b: 1993; Tell es-Sa Stratum IX; Green 1993a: 35; Shechem Stratum XII; G. E. Wright 1961: 12; Magen 1993: 135; Tirat el-Faraj Stratum V; Kelm and Mazur 1993: 69; Tel Yarmuk; Leshem 1993: 516; Tel Yope Stratum XIX; Ben-Tor 1993: 809; and Tell Zippor Stratum III; Barak 1993b: 15.

Transjordanian sites that exhibit evidence of discontinuity/destruction include Deir 'Alia Phase E; Van Der Kooij 1993: 340; Pella Phase IA; Potts *et al.* 1988: 36–37; Tell es-Sa Stratum XII; Tubb 1988: 1990: 1993: 902; and Tell el-Umeiri (Yonker *et al.* 1996: 74–75).

Those Syrian sites that show evidence of discontinuity/destruction during the transition include Tel Brak Oates 1981: 184, 90; El-Qsar (McClellan 1986: 438); Emar Arnaud 1984: 181 note 6; 187: 9, 20 note 2; Tell Faq'ou (Margueron

recent study, the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition is characterized as one of "catastrophe" (Drews 1993) while another describes this century or so as a period of 'crisis' (Ward and Joukowsky 1992). But what caused this crisis? Who or what was responsible for the mass destruction of cities and civilization? As the years continue to bring forth more material and information, so have the number of explanatory theories multiplied. These theories of causation include: (1) An invasion by foreign peoples. This includes the military invasion and "conquest" of Canaan by Israel (Ahlbright 1939-1949; G. E. Wright 1962; P. W. Lapp 1977a; B. Mazar 1981a; Yon 1990: 97; Malamat 1979, 1982a; Bright 1972; Yadin 1982, 1983a; Ussishkin 1987); the military invasion of the 'Sea Peoples' along the coast and later penetrating inland (Malamat 1971; A. Mazar 1983b: 10); Sager 1985b: 62*, 1985a: 336-337; Wood 1991: 52 but see Cifola 1994); and the military activity of several Egyptian campaigns during the XIXth Dynasty attempting to regain control of the region (Helck 1971; Yadin 1975; Amis 1978: 115; Weinstock 1981; 1981; Sager 1988). (2) Natural causes such as seismic activity (Schaeffer 1948; Kilian 1980; 1988; cf. Drews 1993: 33-47); (3) A systems collapse with factors that included the decline of Egyptian domination, exhaustion of natural resources, the cessation of international trade, technological decline and innovation as well as ethnic movements (Dever 1992c: 104-108). (4) Ecological factors such as drought or famine (Kienig 1974; Weiss 1982; Stuebing 1980: 189-1994). (5) Conflagration of cities for disease control (Meyers 1978). (6) Inter-ethnic warfare among competing city-states (cf. MBIJ, cf. Hollmör 1983: 190; 1990; and (7) Changes in warfare tactics that allowed the penetration of city-state defensive systems (Drews 1993).

The domination of military activity as a major causative theory of the collapse of the Late Bronze Age is not without significance nor is it unwarranted. Textual records such as Egyptian campaign records, the Amarna letters, and the Hebrew Bible give descriptions of foreign domination and resistance. The archaeological data have been compared to these descriptions resulting in various inferences and inter-

1992: 62); Tell Fraz (Stratum IV) (McClellan 1992: 167); Hamad el-Turkman Period VIII (Stratum VIII) (1980: 48); Akkermans and Rosmond 1990: 32; Qatna (du Buisson 1985: 34-35); Khafertesh-Shene (Bar 1990; and Ugarit (Yon 1990: 107; c. Dietrich and Loretz 1988). For the disputed destructions at Tel-Rifa al-Sayid (Williams 1981: 196); Tell Abu Hanne (Levy 1990) and Hazza (Levy 1990); Fagmann 1998: 134-135; see the discussions by Sailer 1992: 100; McClellan 1992: 167; and Caubet 1992.

pretation. Many of these attempts at correlation have led to disparity – the two sources of information not fully reconciled or integrated. One of the best examples of the complexity involved is found in the military activity of ancient Egypt.

Egyptian campaign records of the XIXth Dynasty kings Seti I, Ramses II and Merenptah make claims of military conquest and victory over specific geographical, socioethnic, and sociocultural entities throughout the southern Levant. Campaign accounts in narrative and poetic form as well as lists of specific entities are recorded on temples, stelae and other media. Egyptologists have studied these textual sources by: 1. Linguistically analyzing the toponymy of the accounts and proposing identifications with known sites (Jirku 1947, Simons 1957, Gerg 1978, 1980a, 1983b, Astour 1990a); 2. Reconstructing the routes of specific campaigns (Gardiner 1920, Heick 1971, Habachi 1980, Murnane 1980, Yaron 1980); 3. Analyzing the poetic structure of the texts (Hornung 1983, Fecht 1983, M. Lichtheim 1976); 4. Establishing the genre of different accounts (Spalinger, 1983b, 1983a, 1983c, Redford 1980a); 5. Investigating the iconography of military activity (D. Müller 1961, Gabadla 1970, Lefebvre 1974, 1981, Wilkinson 1987, 1991, Van Essche-Mercle 1992, 1994) and 6. Addressing general military organization (Faulkner 1953, Christophe 1957, Schumann 1964a, 1995, Grous 1996) and administration (Ariel-Kaer 1970, Givon 1978a, Heick 1971, Na'aman 1975; Israelit-Groll 1983).

Lexicographic studies on military terminology in Egyptian texts were largely neglected until recently (Lorton 1974a, 1974b, Grunau 1980, Morschhäuser 1988, Bleiberg 1984a, 1988, Hoffmeier 1989, Galán 1995). Few Syro-Palestinian archaeologists deal with the original textual material relating to military campaigns and rely primarily on secondary sources. Hence, no extensive study of Egyptian military terminology during the XIXth Dynasty has yet been attempted by either Egyptologists or archaeologists. Essential questions persist: What is the terminology used in the context of military accounts? Are there historical and textual indications of physical activities taking place against geographical, socioethnic, and political entities? Are

The study of Hoffmeier (1989) pertains to the campaign of Thutmose III and only addresses a few terms. Lorton's (1974a, 1974b) study of juridical terminology also ended with the XVIIIth Dynasty. The recent dissertation by Grunau (1980) is restricted to terminology of Egyptian imperialism during the XVIIIth Dynasty as well and does not adequately address the later campaigns of the XIXth Dynasty.

indications given as to the extent of the destructions or what specifically is destroyed? What are the roles of ideology, kingship, and legitimation in these documents? Terminology and iconography understood in their original context would seem essential in establishing the Egyptian perception of campaigns into foreign lands.

While many of these aspects contribute to an overall understanding of the Egyptian perception of military activity, they fail to address a fundamental question: What is the reality behind the claims made in campaign accounts and lists? What was the physical impact of military campaigns on the entities mentioned? This remains the task of archaeological investigation. Helck (1983: 12; Dever 1988). Archaeologists employing aerial stratigraphic excavation and working within a clear theoretical framework are able to pose important questions which may reveal the nature of military activity employed at a given site.

The development of specific paradigms continues to be proposed for archaeological destructions caused by natural phenomena (i.e. seismic activity; Katz and Kafri 1978; Sorensen 1985; Dever 1982g; cf. Schaller 1987: 231-233). Yet, such paradigms remain to be developed for other types of destruction, especially military destruction. For the most part archaeologists working in the southern Levant have relied heavily on Egyptological secondary literature describing military campaigns without carefully investigating the nature of these accounts and the Egyptian perception of events. This is especially evident in theories proposed for a number of transition periods.

The cause of collapse at the end of the Early Bronze Age was attributed to invading Amorites from Mesopotamia (Albright 1963; Kenyon 1980; Kenyon, Posen, and Bottero 1971; but see Kamp and Yoffee 1980) or an intrusive people from the trans-Caucasus (P. W. Lapp 1966). However, recently a more systematic approach is used to analyze various processes that contributed to the collapse of Early Bronze Age culture (Dever 1989; Eass 1989). Likewise, it was proposed "the Egyptian conquest of Palestine about the middle of the sixteenth century ushered in the Late Bronze Age" (Albright 1963: 96). This view is followed today by American, European and Israeli Syro-Palestinian archaeologists (G. E. Wright 1961: 110; Kenyon 1973; de Vaux 1978; Sharon 1983: 40-1; Yadin 1955; 1985; Seger 1975; 1976; Dever 1976; 1985; 1987: 177; 1990; A. Mazar 1990b: 226-227). The argument is based on the large-scale destructions that took place during the MB-LB transition at sites throughout Palestine. These were subsequently assigned to the campaign of Thutmose III. The destructions encompass numerous sites followed by subsequent abandonment for varying lengths of time (see also in G. E. Wright 1961: chart 1; Dever 1976: chart 2; Weinstein 1983: 2).

This hypothesis of the end of Middle Bronze culture is supported by a number of Egyptologists (Helck 1977; Weinstein 1981; 1991). However, other scholars have

Other archaeologists seem content with a simple correlation between campaign accounts and destructions at sites during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. For example, Yadin equated the destruction of Stratum 1B at Hazor with Seti I. Yadin *et al.* 1960: 59; Yadin 1975: 143. Yet he gave no reference to pertinent Egyptian texts, neither is the destruction described in detail (but see A. Ben Tor *et al.* 1989; cf. Bienkowski 1987). Only the chronology of the destruction level was discussed in relation to ceramic sequences. Thus, Yadin assumed a correlation based on corresponding chronology rather than on specific correlates in the archaeological context. This approach is practiced widely in the discipline. Abright 1953a, Seger 1975, Dever 1974, 1986, Bran 1994.

As a result, questions concerning the nature of Egyptian military destruction have not been widely discussed (but see Hoffmeier 1989, 1990, 1991; Dever 1988; Weinstein 1991). What was the extent of Egyptian destruction? Was the city burned? Were walls, gates, domestic and cultic buildings affected, and if so, to what extent? It has been suggested that military campaigns were punitive rather than widely destructive (Dever 1990). In this case, wide-scale destruction would not be present and perhaps little archaeological evidence would remain to be analyzed. Such questions, however, require testing within an archaeological framework.

Currently Syro-Palestinian archaeologists have not provided an adequate model of destruction paradigm to answer these questions. Yet major correlations continue to be made that are decisive in determining 1) the sociopolitical history of the region; 2) the chronology of the southern Levant—based as it is on synchronisms with Egyptian and Mesopotamian absolute chronology; and 3) the assessment of the archaeological record. Because of these significant implications a study into the nature of Egyptian military activity is long overdue.

Part of the difficulty lies in the nature of the evidence itself. It is well known that events in the past included actions that left material remains and those that did not. There are a number of features in archaeological contexts that may reflect military activity. The

recently argued against a monocausal view of cultural collapse on the basis of both archaeological (Benson 1979; Bardett 1980; Bienkowski 1986: 127–28; G. I. Davies 1980: 56; and philological (Seger 1975; Redford 1975, 1982a; Hoffmeier 1989, 1990, 1991) grounds. The resulting debate has left an unresolved tension between philological and archaeological arguments pertaining to Egyptian military accounts of the early New Kingdom.

presence of weapons may indicate certain military practices. (2) Warrior burials constitute another important source of warfare in archaeology. (3) The presence of fortifications may indicate a period of internal or external conflict requiring defensive strategies. (4) The destruction of cities may indicate aspects of the type of tactics and military strategies used in cases of siege and other methods of destruction (conflagration, battering rams). These features may be detectable in archaeological contexts and could be analyzed in assessing the impact of military activity on a given region or culture.

Many additional actions of warfare are not preserved in archaeological contexts. (1) The actions of open-terrain battle are absent from most archaeological contexts as they often leave little stratigraphic evidence and no remains in significant spatial concentrations. (2) Captives and prisoners taken during battle are known from historical sources of all periods but this action leaves no archaeological evidence. (3) Evidence for the annihilation of a population through military activity (genocide, enslavement, or transfer) does not appear in archaeological contexts. (4) The destruction of subsistence sources (irrigating orchards and fields) leaves no trace archaeologically. (5) Aspects of military organization such as troop transfers, commanding officers, and methods used are not detectable from archaeological remains (cf. Vent 1984: 123-125). As St. Vent observes,

For this reason, it is advisable to complement the usual procedure of archaeology, namely of research on the past through the analysis of finds, by additional study of the past from the viewpoint of things not preserved, in order to prevent the identification of the level of study of the past with the one-sided and fragmentary structure of archaeological data. The vanished past will be more comprehensible and components of the cultures in question are treated with a measure of attention in proportion to their significance within the original historical structure rather than in proportion to incidental and mechanical factors conditioning their archaeological, i.e. partial, existence or nonexistence.

The possible absence of weapons does not necessarily imply the absence of warfare. A number of weapons were constructed of perishable materials (all-wood javelins or spears, maces, clubs). Other weapons may not be recognized as such since they were used from the natural surroundings (hand-thrown stones, pebbles as sling-shot, simple awl-like points used for javelins, or by using common objects in multiple usage like all-purpose tools (knives, axes, hammers), animals (war dogs), poisons or objects used as weapons by chance or in a case of emergency (Vent 1984: 26). Many weapons were left in the open battlefield and may not be found in graves or at sites, while others were taken as booty and transported to locations far from the place of battle.

This type of study would include all available sources (historical, iconographic, and archaeological) pertaining to the military action of a specific culture.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the nature of Egyptian military activity during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition (the XIXth Dynasty, ca. 1274-1203 B.C.). Specific attention will be placed on the archaeological evidence relating to destructions at sites (cities) as well as the type of action taken against socioethnic and sociocultural entities (people groups such as Israel and the inhabitants of *Šasu*, "Shasu," designated in campaign documents). It is presumed that the actions and ploys toward these various entities differed as they related specifically to social, environmental, and economic factors. To facilitate this endeavor, a contextual study of military terminology and iconography contained in XIXth and XXth Dynasty campaign accounts will also be carried out so that a more complete understanding of the Egyptian perception of military activity may be attained.

The thesis of this study is that the nature and tactical practices of Egyptian military activity can be deduced from a combined study of archaeological, textual, and iconographic records. This will produce a general paradigm of Egyptian military activity as it was implemented in the southern Levant during the period indicated and will provide a basis for assessing military destructions at sites as they relate to Egyptian military policy. A study of this nature is crucial in understanding the Egypto-Canaanite relations and will refine the perception of the sociopolitical history of the region, stimulating further discussion concerning the interpretation of archaeological data and its integration with historical and textual sources.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Despite the continued association of "destructions" with various policies, there have been few investigations of the correlates of destruction present at a site in comparison with known military documents.⁶

⁶ Most recently, the proposal of "destruction correlates" or paradigms for seismic activity has been developed (see Dever 1990g). For the inadequacy of C. F. A. Schaeffer's 1948 proposal for widespread earthquake destruction of Late Bronze Age sites at 1363 B.C. (see Dever 1990g: 31*) and Drews' 1993: 33-47. Similar approaches for other types of destruction or discontinuity are in need of investigation.

A research design for the investigation of destructions is necessary before investigating individual sites. A major factor in formulating a research design is to develop relevant questions that will contribute information to the issues under investigation. Reast and LeBlanc (1978). In the case of military destruction, the following questions are deemed relevant for this investigation and should be addressed to the historical, iconographic and archaeological data.

Identification, History, and Chronology

First, one of the key issues is the nature of the texts used for historical associations. Where does the toponym appear in textual documents? Is it on a toponym list or in an account giving further details of activities? Does it appear in more than one location or genre of documents? What is the reliability of these accounts. These are all important questions to ask of the textual evidence from Egypt before associations are made with the archaeological contexts.

Second, is it possible to identify the toponym with a known site in the region? What is the degree of certainty in this identification? What strategic role could this site play in political, cultural, and economic dynamics and how might this have been important for Egypt?

Third, how does the chronology of a given campaign correlate with a destruction level? Here emphasis must be placed on establishing the overall chronology of the reigning king and specifically the chronology of his campaigns. This is compared with the ceramic evidence present in the destruction and the stratigraphic relationship with architecture and other material remains.¹ Other material-cultural

Although a model or paradigm should be in place before excavations begin (Watson, LeBlanc, and Redman 1984: 19-28) unfortunately one has not yet been developed in our field. As a result, the sites investigated in this study are, out of necessity limited in the amount of data they contribute to this problem.

There are other known causes for destruction and discontinuity in the archaeological record. These causes may be: 1) massive warfare (siege, deliberate alterations); 2) construction (e.g. a burning area for disease control); 3) natural forces (or brush fires, floods, tidal waves, volcanoes, earthquakes); 4) accidental collapse due to poor construction (fire etc.); also 5) gradual, long-term degradation (processes, abandonment, robbing, erosion, exposure, etc.). (Dever 1991, p. 32²). Relevant inquiry into both the systemic context and the ultimate formation processes involved in the archaeological context is important as well (Schaffer 1976; 1983; 1987).

It should be noted that the relative chronology based on ceramics has a long range of usage and during this period in particular demonstrates wide-scale continuity (Wood 1981; Dever 1991b). Nevertheless, certain correlations can be drawn on the basis of imports (Mycenaean IIB, IId, Ib; see Houtky 1986; T. Dothan 1982a;

ture indicators, such as scarabs and ostraca, might provide further chronological information. This will facilitate a more certain association between the absolute and relative chronologies.

Fourth, what is the history of archaeological work and during what period was the site excavated? The methods and theoretical orientation of the excavators often determine the quality of their results and the reliability of their conclusions. Excavations conducted in the first half of the twentieth century differ greatly from later excavations not only in method but also in the questions and research designs that are being tested. This can strongly affect conclusions and assumptions that are subject to change with further data.

All of these factors are significant when attempting relationships between textual and iconographic sources and archaeological contexts. Their purpose is to incorporate and evaluate both previous and present conclusions of interpreters and attempt to determine the validity of those conclusions in an integrated manner that includes all of the sources and evidence currently available. Once this is accomplished and a reasonable association is deemed possible, further questions must be posed to determine the correlates of destruction present at the site.

Destruction Correlates

Once a plausible chronological and historical connection is established between textual accounts and an archaeological site, the investigation must deal with the specific details of the archaeological context in order to determine what types of action were taken and what the extent of their effects was. It is proposed that these actions should be discernable in an archaeological context and for the purposes of this study they will be called *destruction correlates*. The term correlate is used here as a destructive feature that is preserved in an archaeological context and may be inferred as the result of human behavior or one that may be reconstructed from textual or iconographic evidence (see Schiffer 1976: 12-14; 1987: 4-5). These correlates of destruction may be preserved in either historical sources, archaeological contexts, or both. When they occur in both sources a more reliable determina-

and other indicators like scarabs and textual documents found in association with them. Here much rests also on the Egyptian chronological correspondence since it is on these synchronisms that the relative ceramic chronology is based. Investigations of the typology and relative chronology of local wares were conducted in Wood (1985).

uon can be made and incorporated in an overall paradigm of destruction for Egyptian military activity. This paradigm would serve as a working model when interpreting or inferring the type of military activity at sites that show such evidence. The following questions are essential before proposals of cultural connections can be offered.

First, what is the focus of the destruction? Is the military activity directed against walled cities and settlements, against the people that occupy them, or both? Can such a distinction be made and, if so, is there a priority in the focus of military activity?

Second, what is the means of destruction? Were cities, life-support systems and other belongings of the enemy burned in conflagration? Was sword warfare, infantry, or chariotry used? Was the battering ram and other siege equipment employed against city walls and defensive structures? Or were battles generally fought out in the open terrain?

Third, what life-support systems are destroyed? Are the defensive structures destroyed, or tents, water and the fields, orchards, and crops of the enemy confiscated or destroyed?

Fourth, what is the extent of the destruction? Are gates and defensive systems destroyed in part or completely? Are cult- or domestic structures affected or is the entire city destroyed completely?

Each of these questions is important in determining the focus, nature, extent, and content of the military activity employed by one polity against another. The first-through-third set of questions would presumably leave little evidence in archaeological contexts and might be addressed primarily to the textual and iconographic sources. The fourth set of questions can be tested primarily in archaeological contexts. Once these destruction correlates are established, archaeologists will be better able to evaluate the archaeological context and make proper inferences. Other questions may further illuminate a reconstruction of events and the identification of the polities involved.

Elements of Continuity/Discontinuity

One of the important ways of determining both the nature of activity causing a destruction and the polity or polities that may be identified with this activity is to look at subsequent continuities and discontinuities. Several questions are crucial in this regard.

First, is the site abandoned or reoccupied? What is the gap between the destruction and subsequent occupation? Often a long

abandonment indicates a very significant event that has major repercussions on the population of the site (i.e. loss of life, modes of subsistence, etc.). At other times, an immediate rebuilding may indicate minor adverse effects.

Second, what is the scale of subsequent occupation? Is all of the site reoccupied or only parts of it? Are all the buildings that may have been destroyed rebuilt (cultic, administrative, or domestic structures)? This may indicate that life continued together with previous religious, political, and economic stability. If small-scale reoccupation occurs, it may be inferred that the disruption was significant.

Third, what was the degree of cultural continuity/discontinuity present in the reoccupation? Were buildings reconstructed in their original lines with little change? Or were there major changes in the spatial plans and organization of the site? Are there distinctive elements in the material culture that can be distinguished from previous strata, or is the material culture continuous with few changes? These are basic questions that will be addressed to the archaeological data and might aid in inferring both causes for the destruction and identification of the subsequent cultures that occupy the site.

Together all of these three categories of questions, (1) Identification, History and Chronology; (2) Destruction Correlates; and (3) Elements of Continuity/Discontinuity, aim toward providing a model for assessing and identifying military activity through destruction correlates found in both textual/iconographic and archaeological sources. The investigation of these sources produces significant results that provide a possible paradigm for Egyptian military activity during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition.

LIMITATIONS

This study is limited by the nature of the evidence. As St. Vernal pointed out in addressing the epistemological issues of warfare in archaeology, "A significant part of military behavior is intertwined with questions of political power, which does not immediately generate material remains" (Vernal 1984: 117). Indeed, the material remains alone cannot provide a complete picture of Egyptian military activity or of any behavior, for that matter. It is for this reason that several approaches are incorporated in this study. The resulting quantity of data requires certain restrictions in order to focus on

specific research goals. When assessing the textual and historical aspects of Egyptian military activity it would be interesting to investigate the history of the terminology from a wider perspective of development over time. Although earlier textual evidence from the Middle and early New Kingdom would be helpful, this study attempts to provide a comprehensive but manageable overview by analyzing the military terminology and iconography of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties during the reigns of four major rulers. This consists of the lexicographical study of terms pertaining to: (1) the Egyptians in battle and the resulting defeat of their enemies; and (2) the means of destruction including conflagration, siege, sword warfare and destruction of crops and other life-support systems in the context of their semantic domain in campaign documents. This investigation is intended to serve as a model for future studies on earlier and later periods and may extend to topics beyond military activity.

Another limitation concerns the overview of recent research or archaeological evidence for Egyptian presence and accumulation. Several recent studies have dealt with the architecture and material culture influences of Egypt (Weinstein, 1981; Higginbotham, 1993, 1996, 1998; C. Hermann 1994; Yanno 1998; Mumon forthcoming). While a brief overview of this evidence is provided in Chapter Three, the reader is directed to these and other current references for further analysis. These limitations indicate that this book will not only be a comprehensive historical study as might be made from an Egyptological perspective, but it will contain the critical analysis of the archaeological material in an unprecedented manner. The study is further limited geographically to the modern countries of Syria, Lebanon, Sinai, Israel, and Jordan.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this study encompasses historical, textual and archaeological aspects in an attempt to provide an integrated approach to the research problem. Chapter One contains the main

Several archaeologists have pointed to the importance of an integrated approach. Review 1980, Yoffee 1982, Tigger 1984, 267-75, Bintliff 1991, Knapp 1992, 1993, Leys and Holl 1995. For the most recent methodological and theoretical issues see the discussions of Kopyov, Thurstan, Kelly, and Penman in the *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4 (1997).

historical, textual, and iconographic components of the study. It is devoted to a new contextual investigation of over thirty terms and expressions used in describing XIXth and XXth Dynasty Egyptian military activity. To provide a broader perspective this investigation will not be limited to accounts pertaining to the southern Levant, but will include campaigns to other surrounding regions as well. It is hoped that this will indicate the development of patterns of expression and meaning with a more accurate understanding of military activities in surrounding regions as perceived in Egyptian scribal tradition. Iconographic evidence will be brought into the discussion when it pertains to specific terms and practices.

Chapter Two surveys the evidence for Egyptian influence in the southern Levant before providing a detailed archaeological analysis of the specific sites mentioned in the records of Sen I, Ramses II, and Merneptah. Over twenty toponyms are included in this analysis. The chapter will follow the parameters of the research design in investigating the evidence for site identification, history of research, archaeological data, destruction correlates, and subsequent activity before providing an assessment for each site and a general reconstruction of the campaigns of each king.

In Chapter Three the socioethnic and geographic/sociocultural entities are investigated separately. These toponyms represent a contrasting socio-political structure and are subject to a different military strategy from the sites investigated in the preceding chapter. These entities, which include Israel and the inhabitants of *Šar* ("Shara," are significant for the reconstruction of history in this period. Indeed, Israel represents the only socioethnic group mentioned in the southern Levant during the XIXth Dynasty and is of special importance for the construction of a balanced paradigm of Egyptian military activity.

The concluding chapter, Chapter Four, provides a synthesis of textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence which forms the basis for the proposed paradigm of Egyptian military activity. Evidence from Chapter One supplies the Egyptian perception of tactical and destruction components as preserved in the textual and iconographic record combined, with the archaeological evidence for Egyptian destruction in Chapters Two and Three as preserved in archaeological contexts. These will include the focus, nature, extent, and content of the military activity employed by one polity against another. Each of these components contributes to the proposed para-

digm of Egyptian military destruction which is presented in full in this concluding chapter.

Egyptian military activity is then placed in the context of an expansionism model which best describes the policies of Egypt during the New Kingdom (Eisenstadt 1963; Kemp 1978; Frandsen 1978; Weinstein 1981). The sociopolitical changes occurring at the close of the Late Bronze Age will be set in the context of the declining control of Egyptian power to the east resulting in the upheaval characteristic of the period. This augments and builds toward an essential goal of this book – to provide a case study in the integration of archaeological, textual, and anthropological areas of inquiry, for it is only within this framework that a more complete picture of the sociopolitical dynamics of the southern Levant during this period can emerge in a vital and stimulating way.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL, TEXTUAL AND ICONOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS OF EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY

The Egyptians possessed a vital interest in the events of the past. This manifested itself in a variety of literary and artistic sources that included commemorative inscriptions, stelae, toponym lists, *osara*-a, scarabs, and pictorial reliefs. This chapter represents the major historical, textual, and iconographic component of the present study. Terminology, expressions and representational art present in Egyptian military records will be investigated in an integrated approach encompassing lexicographic, semantic and contextual frameworks. Such an approach is entirely new and crucial for the study of XIXth and XXth Dynasty military documents as it is based on a comprehensive concordance of Egyptian military terminology. Because of the historiographic nature of this investigation, an analysis of the "concept of history" in Egyptian literary tradition as well as an overview of the various types of sources available is necessary before the analysis of texts and reliefs in Egypt and the southern Levant is conducted.

BACKGROUND TO EGYPTIAN MILITARY DOCUMENTS

Historiography and Egyptian Military Documents

Despite the plethora of written and iconographic sources available to modern historians, Egypt "has been almost totally neglected in discussions of ancient Near Eastern history writing" (Younger 1990: 165) but see Laverant (1990). Numerous writers have denied that the Egyptians possessed any idea of history in the modern sense that history is understood today (Ball 1933: 32; Giese 1958: 228). Thus,

The historiography of the ancient Near East is well documented from various perspectives (cf. Denton 1955; Giese 1958; Albrektson 1967; Kreeher and Müller 1975; Wyatt 1979). However, a number of difficulties exist for these approaches. Van Seters has shown that often these studies reflect the notion of a uniform idea of history in a particular culture (Van Seters 1983: 57-58; cf. Younger 1990: 234 note 4). Moreover, many approaches are too selective (Press 1982: 112) or have a tendency to oversimplify similarities (e.g., Malamat 1995).

L. Bull concludes, "it seems fair to say that the ancient Egyptians cannot have had an 'idea of history' in any sense resembling what the phrase means to thinkers of the present age" (1911: 32). Following Bull, Gese in his study of ancient Near Eastern and biblical history maintains, "We shall leave Egypt completely out of account, since at first glance the Egyptian evidence seems to be quite irrelevant to our question" (Gese 1958: 128). Helck, as well, is comfortable stating, "Aus all diesem geht hervor, daß Geschichte in unserem Sinn dem Ägypter anwichtig war" (Helck 1971f: 1226). E. Otto (1966) posited a tension in Egyptian literature between the world of facts (*geschichtlicher Realität*), the historical ideal (*Geschichtsbild*), and history writing (*Geschichtsschreibung*)—the distinguishing factors being the notion of *anw* and the function of the king. This view is reflected in the authoritative *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* in articles on "Geschichtsauffassung" (Wildung 1977b: 560-562), "Geschichtsbild" (Wildung 1977c: 562-564), and "Geschichtsschreibung" (Beckert 1977d: 565-568). Most recently, E. Hornung states, "Historical inscriptions and images from Egypt do not narrate actual events. Instead they provide entry into a solemn, ritualistic world that contains no chance or random elements. The Egyptians had no historiography as we know it, no objective narrative of the past" (1992: 154).

Others point out the problems in these interpenetrations, stating that "it is not legitimate to compare ancient Near Eastern history writing to a twentieth century historical or positivist model" (Younger 1990: 90). But most Egyptologists recognize that the Egyptians had a strong sense of the past (Bull 1911: 3; Borkman 1964). This past was indeed understood as cyclical in nature and not as a linear sequence of events (Wildung 1977: 563). Furthermore, the Egyptian view of history was intimately tied to the concept of kingship and ideology (Barta 1973; Blumhardt 1978; Baines 1991a). This is evident in the deified nature of the king and his central role in Egyptian military incursions. But the historicist presuppositions of these positions are subject to scrutiny. "The Egyptians seemed to be aware of their role in history and come to terms with it" (Younger 1990: 167). Indeed, one can concur with Van Seters that "no Near Eastern society was more meticulous in its record keeping as represented in the annals and king-lists, and yet more ideological" in its presentation of past events as they centered upon the king (1983: 12). The concepts of ideology, kingship, and legitimation therefore played a dominant role

Ideology

Ideology is widely associated with the concept of kingship throughout the ancient Near East (Inguez 1943). In Egypt, kingship is almost always associated with religious values: rulers are often credited with divine power and status as well as divine sanction and support. Baines (1993a: 3). S. Morenz states, "Strictly speaking the only acceptable subject [of historiography] is the Egyptian sacrosanct ruler, through whom or in relation to whom all essential things happen."

To this extent history is written as a dogma of sacrosanct monarchy (Morenz 1973: 1). This is evident in Egyptian military accounts where the dependence on ideology is strongly present. Often, the king is viewed as the "Good god" *nehty* going forth to battle. Ramses II portrays himself with Amun-Re in a cycle of affliction and divine mercy (M. Lichtheim 1975: 64-65; Wray 1984). The gods pre-ordain military activity and promise triumph (M. Lichtheim 1975: 35-38, 46-47). Often the strengths ascribed to the king originate directly from the gods who indicate that they are the source of skills and power possessed by the king. In Egyptian iconography, the gods are shown with the king as he goes forth in battle. One scene depicts Thutmose IV going forth in his chariot (ca. 1400 B.C.) from Thebes, now in Cairo, and protected by Montu who supports his arms while he shoots at the enemy (Kees 1980: Fig. 357; Cornelius 1995: 18, Fig. 5). In these ways, ideology is strongly associated with the military campaign records of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. But how does the ideological nature of Egyptian military documents affect contributions to historiographic interests? How can ideology be viewed when attempting to reach historical conclusions?

Inquiries regarding the relationship of ideology and historiography are often complex. Yet, despite the difficulty to understand the connotations employed for ideology in this regard, it continues to be a major area of focus in studies pertaining to ancient Near Eastern historiography. While numerous definitions for "ideology" exist, Younger (1990: 47-52) suggests that there are essentially three ways to view the role of ideology in ancient military documents (cf. H. M. Johnson 1968: 76-77).

1. Ideology has been defined as "false consciousness," or in other words, as the distortion of reality because of society's "false consciousness." In this view humanity cannot understand its role through true consciousness since this is not available to them (Karl

Marx gave prominence to this idea using "ideology" "for distorted or selected ideas in defence of the *status quo* of a social system i.e. 'a capitalist ideology'." Younger 1966: 47 cf. G. Iachheim 1965: 173.

2. Ideology is defined as those ideas within a social system that are distorted from a positivist viewpoint. Thus, "ideology consists of selected or distorted ideas about a social system or a class of social systems when these ideas purport to be factual, and also carry a more or less explicit evaluation of 'facts.' This definition is narrow in that ideology consists *only* of those parts or aspects of a system of social ideas which are distorted or unduly selective from a scientific point of view" (H. M. Johnson 1968: 77).

3. Ideology, as Geertz defines it, is a "schematic image of social order" (Geertz 1964: 63). According to Geertz ideology in this neutral sense cannot be scientifically defined as distortion or selectivity. Instead, ideology consists of normative and factual elements which are not in themselves distorted through bias cf. Gould 1964: 315-317.

Each of these definitions differs in its degree of viewing the concept of ideology as a distortion. In regard to the first two definitions, Marx had wide influence particularly on G. Lukacs 1923 and K. Mannheim 1936 and the subsequent Frankfurt school of sociology that focuses on the ideological basis of all forms of social knowledge (Habermas 1963; 1971; cf. Friedman 1981: 37, 476). Mannheim used "ideology" to refer to conservative ideas as distortions (H. M. Johnson 1968: 77). In this view "ideology is by its nature untruthful, since it entails a masking or veiling of unavowed and unperceived motives or interests" (Shils 1968: 73). According to U. Eco, ideology is "a partial and disconnected world vision producing a 'false consciousness'" (Eco 1976: 29). As Younger correctly summarizes "Thus ideology has the unfortunate quality of being psychologically 'retained', 'warped', 'contaminated', 'falsified', 'distorted', 'clouded' by the pressure of emotions like hate, anxiety or fear" (Younger 1966: 49).

Others have pointed out the problems with this restricted view of ideology. Shils maintains that since all ideologies are complex cognitive patterns containing many presuppositions, ideologists are never truly successful in possessing systematic integration. Thus, true formulations can coexist alongside false ones (Shils 1968: 73). Indeed, D. Apter correctly noted that "ideology is not quite like other subjects. It reflects the presuppositions of its observers" (Apter 1964: 16). With-

old doubt, some distortion continues to exist, but everything is not necessarily distorted because it is ideological. Geertz has shown that many confuse figurative language often used in ideological texts as distortion. Not recognizing or studying carefully the types of figurative language used in ideological discourse, including metaphor, metonymy, analogy, metonymy, synecdoche, oxymoron, and personification, social scientists often dismiss all as "distortion" when in reality much more can be understood from the language of these texts (Geertz 1984: 57). Thus, the semantic structure of ideological texts is much more stable and complex than appears on the surface. For the purposes of this study, the third neutral sense for understanding the concept of ideology seems preferable when examining Egyptian military accounts of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties that are rich in metaphor and other semantic patterns. This understanding allows one to come to a more complete meaning of the text as understood from an Egyptian perspective.

Kingship and Legitimation

Ideology in Egyptian literature is closely related to the concepts of kingship and legitimation (Frankfort 1948; Otto 1967; Baines 1993a). Already beginning in the Middle Kingdom, as the ideological foundations for kingship were reformulated, divine authority took precedence over monarchy (Hornung 1973: 188). In order to legitimate his rule, the king demonstrated his election by the gods. Even the powerful Thutmose III does so by proclaiming an oracular pronouncement of the god Amun and ascribes his victories to him (*Lk IV 610.24-619.25*). Amenhotep II asserts that "he himself [Amun-Re] caused him to appear as King upon the throne of the living."

He bestowed upon him a heritage forever, a kingship for all time" (*Lk IV 1176.17-21*). According to Hornung, it is this unique relationship that eventually culminates in the "theocracy" of the XXI Dynasty (Hornung 1973: 188; cf. Radwan 1985).

Fundamental also to the king's standing in society and the cosmos was the concept of *maat*, "truth, justice, order" (Votaw 1963; Jankuhn 1973; Assmann 1990; Hornung 1992: 131-14). The idea of *maat* "encompasses both the harmonious cooperation which was projected as a social ideal and the constant struggle to maintain the cosmos against the forces that threaten it" (Baines 1993a: 12). Egyptian military activity may be viewed as an attempt to maintain this cosmos.

The king is often referred to as the 'protector of Egypt' (Ct IV 127b-1283; *ARI* II 151,6-7; *ARI* IV 172-4). In Egyptian military commemorative reliefs the king is also often depicted alone pursuing his enemies by chariot, striking his enemies (E. S. Hall 1986), or presenting prisoners to the gods. He is clearly shown in larger scale than his enemies and other warriors depicted in scenes (Baines 1993a: 30). In the Battle of Kadesh, the king alone is depicted as defeating the Hittites as his own forces retreat and leave him standing alone (Goedicke 1985b; Ockinga 1987).

Thus Egyptian ideology, the concept of kingship, and legitimization are closely associated with one another. They are part of Egyptian consciousness and as a result inherently depicted in its commemorative texts, reliefs, and other textual sources relating to Egyptian military activity. Textual analysis of these accounts must not overlook the propagandistic nature inherent in texts employed for these purposes (Wilkins 1994; Bierberg 1982-86: 1). Bierberg studied the historical texts of the New Kingdom as political propaganda and concluded that 'all of the propaganda was aimed at securing the perception that the reigning king was in fact legitimate' (Bierberg 1982-86: 12). But simply to conclude, as Hornung does, that these inscriptions 'do not narrate actual events' fails to go beyond questions of historicity. New literary approaches that focus instead on a 'close reading' of the texts themselves (Barthes 1971: 49) put aside the dilemma of historical veracity or reliability, at least temporarily and shift attention to the texts themselves (Younger 1990: 30). Thus, records of the past, in this case Egyptian military accounts, can be studied within their own context and frame of reference, together with elements of ideology, kingship, and legitimization (Liverani 1973, 1990). The *Egyptian perspective* of events in the past as they related to their worldview is the purpose of such study (Galan 1995). Modern Egyptological studies in this direction include the lexicographic and contextual analysis of ancient Egyptian texts.

Intended Audience

After establishing that Egyptian inscriptions and reliefs must be understood within the concepts of ideology, kingship and legitimization, one may move a step further and inquire what the intended audience of such discourse might have been. If these texts were meant as propaganda for legitimizing the king, what would have been their

effect on the common people of that day? Who would have read them or seen them? J. Baines 1983 and Baines and Eyre 1983 maintain that during the Old Kingdom only 1% of the population *ca.* 1 million of Wenig 1993: 214 were literate. The literati of Egypt consisted of those administrators who had inscribed ombs Baines and Eyre 1983: 6. This extensive study states at the outset that these estimates 'are scarcely more than informed guesses' Baines and Eyre 1983: 65. More recently Lesko 1990 argues that one must define literacy more accurately than previous attempts; there are several levels of literacy that must be considered. He points out that even in society today many 'who can read newspapers and magazines are not able to write or construct a proper sentence much less a paragraph' Lesko 1990: 658. Lesko then distinguishes between true authors and the scribes who handled some of the correspondence between individuals. He also maintains that many individuals could make out cartouches of reigning kings as well as attestors and probably some gods and local officials. Although the percentage remains small, Lesko maintains that there was a much larger group that had some degree of literacy just as there are today in society, although he admits that many would not have been creative writers or authors.

During the New Kingdom it is most important also to take into account the commemorative reliefs that accompanied texts. The iconography of ancient Egypt provided a direct mode of communicating aspects of ideology and legitimacy to the king who was represented in grand scale together with the gods and going forth in battle Gaballa 1976. Together the textual material and reliefs served the purpose of communicating their intended message to both literate and illiterate during the New Kingdom giving them a sense of the military prowess of their king, his victory over foreign lands, and ultimately his protection of Egypt.

Textual Sources in New Kingdom Egypt

The task of categorizing texts into various genres of history writing has made a major impact on Egyptological studies in recent years. As early as the 1930s, A. Hermann devoted a study on the genre of *Ädungsmonarchie* 1938. He was followed by S. Hermann who also devoted two articles to the subject (1953-54; 1985, but see Redford

198" and Jansen-Winkel in 1993. W. Helck (1969) provided a detailed study of the king lists. A recent monograph by D. B. Redford (1986b) investigates king-list, annal, and day-book genres. In the same volume Redford also addresses the Egyptian view of history. Van Seters, in his seminal work on ancient Near Eastern historiography (1983), employs literary genre analysis as a major methodology to determine which ancient texts can be considered "history." Finally, A. J. Spalinger provided an important study entitled *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (1985b), where he analyzes the campaign accounts of the New Kingdom.

It is many scholars have maintained that genre analysis is imperative to identify history writing. Some like Van Seters, believe that if one is able to determine which genre is employed, then the correct interpretation will follow. But current criticisms of genre analysis bring into question this essentialist categorization of textual documents (Gerhart 1977; Demda 1980; Ralph Cohen 1986). Accordingly, Van Seters's approach, in following the Dutch historian J. Hatzringa, has been called tautological. "For Van Seters the question of genre is the key issue. Genre determines what is history, but the definition of history determines what is history's genre" (Younger 1990: 2). Instead, it must be recognized that "genres are open categories. Each member alters the genre by adding, contracting or changing constituents, especially those of members most closely related to it. Since the purposes of critics who establish genres vary, it is self-evident that the same texts can belong to different groupings or genres and serve different generic purposes" (Ralph Cohen 1986: 204; cf. LaCapra 1986: 221). Thus, genre analysis must be open to a variety of interpretations and possibilities.

For the purposes of this study Egyptian military records as a whole will be analyzed as one genre. Spalinger (1985b) establishes categories within this corpus of material. This work is of great value to scholars because of its results in defining generic features and connec-

This genre was questioned by Helck (1969: 288) and Spalinger (1983) who believe that the *honzmwet* must be divided further morphologically. Spalinger maintains that there are several types of texts utilizing this form including sailing instructions, expeditions, and other occupations of the king. Thus according to Spalinger, this form is not restricted to military usage. Van Seters (1983: 10-172) also discusses the unrestrictive nature of the *honzmwet* stating "the genre allows for excessive variation and flexibility in form and content" (1983: 161). In the end there is little agreement over the confines of this genre (see discussion in Jansen-Winkel 1993).

gens within the texts that are examined (Cifola 1964: 10). He distinguishes between texts beginning with the *u-te* formula (Spalinger 1983b: 1-33), the *homage* (1983b: 101-113), daybook reports (1983b: 120-173), and literary reports (1983b: 193-221). This study will follow his organization and indicate the vocabulary taken from these genres. Because this study is concerned with a lexicographical and contextual study of military terminology, the focus will differ. Nevertheless, Spalinger's categories are important for understanding the background to these texts.

u-te Formula Reports

The *u-te* formula, translated, "He came . . .", is a manner of address where a messenger arrives to report the information and results of a campaign to the king. Most often these types of text indicate that the king was not present leading out the campaign (Spalinger 1983b: 120). This genre of military document was developed by scribes to record military activity of the king briefly and within set formulations that do not allow much freedom of expression or introduction of unique information. It was recorded on stelae and it was not long before this genre "became rather bland and stereotyped" (Spalinger 1983: 1). The first instance of this type of account was found on the Assuan Philae Inscription of Thutmose II and subsequently occurs throughout the New Kingdom down to the fourth century B.C., where it deteriorates and eventually goes out of use. Although Grapow (1936: 23-24) was the first to point out this formula, Spalinger insists on viewing the *u-te* formula within its present form in New Kingdom texts rather than tracing their development from Middle Kingdom formulations. The *u-te* formula inscriptions that are part of the present study and belong to the XIXth and XXth Dynasties are listed below according to the order of the reigns in which they occur (see Table 1).

Daybook Reports

Both Grapow (1949) and Voith (1943: 156-174) noticed in their analysis of the "Annals" of Thutmose III that a specific literary form was employed which they called the "Daybook Style" (*Tagebuchstil*; Wilson 1959a, cf. Redford 1986b). This form consisted of a series of bare infinitives listed without a subject. It was hypothesized that be-

SET I

TEXT	LOCATION	REFERENCES
Northern Wars	Karnak, Hypostyle Hall	ARI I 15-17 Kitchen 1993a
First Beth-Shan Stela Yr	Beth Shan	ARI I 111-114 Kitchen 1993a 9-10
Second Beth-Shan Stela	Beth Shan	ARI I 16, 1-16, 15 Kitchen 1993a 12-13
Stela of Nubian War, Yr 4	Amara West St.	ARI I 102, 6-104, 9 Kitchen 1993a

RAMSES II

Poem: Battle of Kadesh	Karnak 2 Luxor 2 Ramesseum	ARI II 2-101 Wilson 1927: 266-77 Gardiner 1960: 7-14 Kitchen 1996 2-14
------------------------	----------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------

MERNEPTAH

Nubian War Stelae	Amada Wadi es-Sebua ⁴ Amara West	ARI IV 2-7 <i>Le Temple d'Amada</i> , Pls IV-V-VI-VIIbis
Libyan War Inscription	Karnak	ARI IV 2 2-126 Breasted ARE 3.240

Table 1. *in situ* texts

hine this form lay day-to-day accounts of the king's progress in his campaigns (Osing 1980; Spalinger 1983b: 122). It is clear that the king himself led these campaigns. The Egyptian scribes wrote the events of the day and the activities of the king down on leather rolls in hieratic (Uk IV 662, 5-6). Fragments of the daybook accounts can be found throughout Egyptian literature (Grapow 1949: 5-52; cf. Spalinger 1983b: 123). During the XIXth and XXth Dynasties this literary form appears only in the *Poem* and *Bulletin* of the Battle of Kadesh during the reign of Ramses II (Spalinger 1983b: 127).

Literary Reports

In most cases the Egyptians incorporated a variety of methods and styles when writing their war reports. As was previously stated, in most cases the shorter campaigns were recorded at the *ut tu* mold. Those campaigns in which the king personally took part were narrated with the laybook as the core (Spalinger 1984b, 1993). However, numerous accounts cannot be strictly categorized and employ a variety of formulations and patterns that are unique. It is important to note the differences in these accounts. The Merneptah Stela also called "Israel" Stela has usually been described as a hymn (Favory-Bresciani 1969: 326) or a hymn of triumph (Wilson 1989: 376). Bresciani (1969) argued that only the concluding strophes can be labeled poetic. At the same time M. Lichtheim (1971-73) regarded the entire composition as epic poetry. More recently, some scholars have attempted to analyze the structure of the stela (Fecht 1983) as others continue to focus on the final concluding verses (cf. Hase 1994). Because of the interest, not only of this report, but others that are referred to as poetic accounts, the poetic and prose usage in Egyptian military accounts deserves further attention.

Literary studies indicate that while the Egyptian language had no words for "poetry" or "prose," meter was a feature widely present in the elevated language of ancient Egypt (Fecht 1984: 98, 5-983: 983-99; Mathieu 1993). After providing an overview of the possible types of meter, Fecht concludes that "it is evident that for Egyptian only a 'stress-based' (also called) primary metre is acceptable as basic" (1983: 79). Others have recognized verse structure as well, in varying degrees (Assmann 1971, 1982; Oberg 1976; Shinn-Grimm 1977; Foster 1977-1980, 1988; Burkard 1983). Recently, M. Lichtheim (1971-72) recognized the cola as a possible "unit of meaning," but does not accept higher units such as *Parallelismus membrorum* in its variations. Instead, she argues that middle-age poetry is based on the syntax of the clause, but cannot be divided into two lines. Furthermore, there is a distinct difference in her view between prose and poetry, whereas Fecht sees this distinction as less pronounced (Brunner 1982: 121). It is clear, however, that *Parallelismus membrorum* continues to be seen as a major element in Egyptian and other ancient Near Eastern literatures (Assmann 1982). For the purposes of this

Parallelismus membrorum is a poetic form in which two lines are set in parallel to one another in various ways (Assmann 1982: 900). The term was introduced to the

study it may be noted that poetic forms and meter are characteristic in Egyptian military accounts and can influence the understanding of these texts.

Summary

This brief overview of some of the elements present in Egyptian literature of the New Kingdom indicates the variety and complexity of these military accounts. Ideology is evident in the permissions and blessings sought by the kings before engaging in military campaigns as well as the location of military texts and reliefs on the walls of temples. The idea of kingship as a divine institution depicting the king as protector of Egypt is also a key element. Conversely, the king, as he goes out to defend and conquer other lands, legitimizes himself as protector and rightful Pharaoh of the land. In this way ideology, kingship, and legitimization are closely joined together as mutual elements of Egyptian military narrative. It is imperative that historiographic investigation begin with these elements as a basis in order to comprehend the Egyptian concept and meaning of military activity as they were understood by the scribes and literati of Egypt. This will enable a proper understanding of Egyptian conceptions before a comparison between historical and archaeological evidence for both Egyptian presence in Syria-Palestine and military activity is conducted to enhance the perspective and provide balance to the reconstruction of military activity in the southern Levant.

TERMINOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY

Recent lexical analyses are often complex and extensive, dealing with a large corpus of textual material over an extended period of time. Thus D. Lorton's 1974a study of juridical terminology surveyed the Egyptian conceptualization of international relations from the beginning of the historical period to the XVIIIth Dynasty. Others examined terminology related to kingship (Blumenthal 1978; Grimal 1986; middle eighteenth century by Lowth 1753). Among the numerous types of parallelisms that occur in Egyptian, three semantic types have been defined and include: 1) synonymous P.m., 2) antithetic P.m., and 3) synthetic P.m. Other types of P.m. exist as is evident from ancient Near Eastern languages such as Hebrew (Geller 1979; Kugel 1981; Alter 1985; Berlin 1992; W.G.E. Watson 1984: 1, 4-159; 1994) and Ugaritic (Rosenthal 1939; Dahood 1972; S. Parker 1974; Craigie 1979; Segert 1979; 1983).

and military activity (Lorton 1974b; Morschauser 1988; Hoffmeier 1989; Galán 1995). Few studies with such breadth, however, were able to provide detailed investigations of a specific period or reign, but see Citola 1961, and none have attempted a detailed analysis of all the military terminology of the XIXth Dynasty.

The monumental military inscriptions of ancient Egypt (ha) were recorded on temples were accompanied by corresponding representations of the king going forth and returning from battle. According to G. A. Gaballa (1976) many of the scenes, particularly from the New Kingdom, were employed to express narrative, that is, they were intended by the artist to communicate the story or parts of the story recorded by the scribes. Two forms of narrative art are found in Egypt. In the first method the artist illustrates the most significant moment to convey the entire story, the "culminating scene" (Perkins 1957: 55). This more allusive form of communication is found primarily in the prehistoric periods (Gaballa 1976). The second method of artistic expression was the "multipresscene narration" (Mascari 1964) and depicted shared, progressive episodes of the story. This became the most favored method during the historic periods.

According to Gaballa (1976) before the Amarna period, few detailed representations showing the king in the battlefield existed. These were documented only in inscriptions. The single culminating scene of the king slaying his enemy was sufficient to establish his credibility. The new concepts advanced during the Amarna period had a damaging effect on the position and stature of the Egyptian kingship. The artists still depicted the king as divine, but also portrayed his human elements and features in daily life. The ultimate result was the demolition of the concept of kingship. It is only with Horemhab, the successor to the Amarna period, that the first war scenes involving the king emerge. Now the idea of the king taking an active part in the battlefield in a tested form served to reestablish his authority and the prestige of kingship once again. This was accomplished in both written and pictorial narrative depictions.

I Cornebus recently stated: "The textual sources which describe 'divine war' should be studied in comparison with the visual sources. The second type sometimes provides additional and independent information not contained in the texts" (1995: 24). For this reason the narrative depictions are of crucial interest to this investigation, for they mirror and augment in a pictorial way events that are described by accompanying texts.

In this section, a lexicographical and contextual analysis of Egyptian military terminology and iconography is conducted on the surviving military accounts of Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah for the first time. This study is largely concerned with the battles and their perceived effects on the population and its possessions (including cities, camps, fields, orchards, and material culture). The results of this analysis are organized in sections with terms appearing in the following categories: Battle; Enemy Defeat; Annihilation; Submission/Tribute/Gifts; Military Activity on Crops/Orchards/Trees; and Conflagration. Moreover, the investigation of specific terms is linked into Lexicographical meanings, Occurrences and Context in Egyptian military documents and Iconography. The information is provided in summaries with examples of the usage of each of these terms and the actions depicted in the reliefs.¹

Battle

The battle itself is described with terms that are often associated directly with the king as epithets. The characterizations are often stereotyped and generalized reflecting the king as the subject of action. His qualities of "strength" *ply* and "heat" *th* cause the enemy to be conquered by Egypt and more importantly by the king. Only a few words and expressions typically refer to the military encounter itself. Most of the terminology pointing to the destructive effects of military action is stated in the passive form in describing the enemy's defeat.

Lexicography

Lexicography This term is defined as "einen Feind im Kampf niedermachen" (*Wb I*: 280); "to kill, to slaughter, to massacre, butcher, to mow down" (*DLE I*: 107).

Occurrences and Context The finite verb *stb* is not found in the military documents of Seti I or Merenptah. It appears only twice in the *Poem of the Battle of Kadesh* (*KRI II*: 29-31.6.3-4) and once in

¹ Terminology that appears in both XIXth and XXth Dynasty contexts will be evaluated in a comparative manner. However, due to spatial restraints, terms occurring only in the inscriptions of Ramses III will not be analyzed in this chapter since this study focuses primarily on the XIXth Dynasty. The reader is referred to the contextual studies already conducted on the terminology of Ramses III (Cifola 1988: 99).

the *Reuef* at Karnak during the reign of Ramses II *ARI* II 135.8. During the reign of Ramses III it is employed six times *ARI* V 24.2 V 33.6; V 43.10; V 43.15; V 50.4; V 64.9.

The contextual usage during the reign of Ramses II indicates that *u'f* is an action attributed to the king himself. He "slaughters" his enemies *ARI* II 12.9, II 69.15; II 41.8. This act of slaughtering those rebellious against Egypt reiterates the power of the king over his enemies. Citroni (1961: 29) has correctly indicated that this is also the case in the inscriptions of Ramses III where the king is often figuratively described as a wild animal. *ARI* II 69.15; *ARI* V 64.9.

Enemy Defeat

The destructive results of the "king's action" are described in Egyptian military documents as accomplished acts. Verbs are most common in the passive form and express effectively the consequences of military activity on the defeated enemy. Often these expressions and terms are grouped together in a list that describes the condition of the peoples, lands, and estates of the subjugated enemy.

u'

Lexicography The finite verb *u'* is defined as 'eine Person niederdrücken, (den Starken, Ungehorsamen u.ä.) bändigen 6. Zu- meist vom Siegerzwingen der Feinde und der feindlichen Länger' *Hb* I 285 "subdue nations" Faulkner 1962: 54. "to crush, to subdue, to curb, to bind" *DLE* I 108.

Occurrences and Context The term *u'* appears eight times in the military inscriptions of Seti I: in the inscription of his campaign against the Lyvians 1 *ARI* I 21.2; on the rock stela from Karais 1 *ARI* I 72.8; on a monument at Qantara 2 *ARI* I 107.4; I 107.5; on the Flaminian Obelisk from Heliopolis 1 *ARI* I 118.7; and at Abydos 5 *ARI* I 110.7; I 126.13; I 140.5. It appears thirty-six times in the inscriptions of Ramses II: on a stela from Byblos 1 *ARI* II 224.6; in rhetorical stelae at Abydos 3 *ARI* II 309.2; II 309.2; II 311.6; at Abu Simbel 2 *ARI* II 317.1; II 317.2; at Buhen 1 *ARI* II 421.13; at Gnza 3 *ARI* II 337.4; II 338.3; II 338.10; at Serabit el-Khadim 2 *ARI* II 335.5; II 339.3; at Aswan 1 *ARI* II 344.10; at Qantara 1 *ARI* II 443.3; in obelisks VI, XXII, XXIII, XXVI from Tanis 4 *ARI* II 415.14; II 421.4; II 421.10; II 428.4; on pillars

at Tanis (3, *ARI* II 438, 15; II 441, 12; II 446, 4); on a dorsal pillar at Mendes in the Eastern Delta (1, *ARI* II 464, 15); on a granite lion statue (1, *ARI* II 467, 10; British Museum 857; on a fragment from Kom Firm 1, *ARI* II 472, 14; on the Flammian Obelisk from Heliopolis 1, *ARI* II 476, 10; on the Companion Obelisk from Heliopolis 1, *ARI* II 484, 5; on a reused block from Cairo 1, *ARI* II 484, 15; on statues from Memphis 2, *ARI* II 493, 3; II 497, 8; and on the temple at Abydos 2, *ARI* II 509, 9; II 513, 7; II 514, 3-4; II 515, 3). It is copied three times from earlier inscriptions of Seti I (3, *ARI* I 83, 9; I 83, 5; I 84, 14). The term is not used in the inscriptions of Merneptah but appears three times in the inscriptions of Ramses III 3, *ARI* I 84, 6; I 84, 9; I 84, 5; all copies from the earlier inscriptions of Seti I and Ramses II.

The context of the term is almost exclusively an epithet of the king, describing him as the "subduer/leader *of* of the foreign-lands" (*ARI* I 21, 1; I 107, 4; *ARI* II 309, 2; II 309, 12; II 310, 2; II 317, 1; II 317, 2; II 344, 0; II 411, 4). A variation is that he is "subduer/leader *of* of the Nine Bows" (*ARI* I 11, 17; I 26, 15). This rhetorical epithet communicates the commanding status of the king *vis-à-vis* the surrounding nations.



Lexicography The finite verb *phd* is defined as "II. niedergeworfen sein sich niederwerfen von den besiegten Feinden (III. die Feinde) niederwerfen [transitiv] II" (*Wb* I 544); "var. of *psbd*, be turned upside down" (Faulkner 1962: 93); "to cast down, to make prostrate, to turn upside down to overturn" (*Df* I 180).

Occurrences and Context The term *phd* does not occur in the campaign records of Seti I but does appear once in the *Pem* of the Battle of Kadesh in the inscriptions of Ramses II 1, *ARI* II 89, 6-8; at Lagatu in the Merneptah Stela 1, *ARI* IV 113-4). It also occurs twelve times as a transitive verb in the military documents of Ramses III *ARI* V 23, 8; V 33, 2; V 61, 2; V 63, 1; V 63, 3; V 69, 13; V 70, 9; V 70, 15; V 71, 9; V 73, 2; V 93, 12; V 97, 11.

The contextual setting of this term indicates that it was employed most often in a generic manner to describe the situation of the people after the battle. In this context the king himself was the one who caused them to be "cast down," *phd*, out of defeat, submission, or fear of his valor and strength *ARI* IV 19, 3-4; *ARI* V 69, 13; V 71, 9. They

are made *phd* under his feet—out of humility. *ARI* V 92.1. In one case *ARI* II 89.6-8) it also describes the conclusion of the enemy after they have been killed—"lying stretched out" on the field of battle.

Iconography. There is no direct iconography associated with the textual sources, but it is possible to picture this description in the numerous depictions of the enemy strewn on the battlefield before the advancing king. They are indeed cast down as the king rides forward and tramples them beneath the feet of his advancing horses and chariot (see *ppt*, 32-33; and *nn*, 62).

ppt

Lexicography. The finite verb *ppt* is defined as "mit Objekt der Feinde: sie niedertraten, sie niederschlagen" *Wb* I 563. 'trample enemies—also written as bull trampling prostrate foe' (Faulkner 1962: 96: 'to trample to crush, to tread, to smite' *DIE* I 8).

Occurrences and Context. The term *ppt* is employed extensively in the military descriptions of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. During the reign of Seti I it is found seventeen times, in the first Beth Syrian Stela—*ARI* I 2.3. It is found eleven times on the east and west registers of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak in his campaign against Yeno-ani and Lebanon: 1. *ARI* I 13.14—against the Hittites 3, *ARI* I 18.5, I 18.15, I 19.10—against the Libyans 1. *ARI* I 20.1, I 21.7, I 21.11, I 21.12—against Kadesh and Amarna 1. *ARI* I 24.2, in topographical lists 2. *ARI* I 26.1, I 29.13—and once in a topographical list at Kanais. *ARI* I 36.7. It occurs at East Silsda 2, *ARI* I 101.2, I 80.1, Qasr Ibrim 2. *ARI* I 98.16, I 99.7—and on the stela of his Nubian War Year 4 at Sai 1, *ARI* I 103.10. The term occurs forty-four times in the inscriptions of Ramses II in his undated war scenes and topographical lists at Karnak: 11, *ARI* II 154.3, II 155.4, II 156.2, II 157.10, II 157.14, II 157.15, II 158.13, II 160.6, II 161.1, II 167.1, II 170.13, Luxor 2. *ARI* II 180.13, II 186.2—and Abydos 1. *ARI* II 195.11. It occurs at Beit el-Wali in the undated Syrian and Libyan scenes—*ARI* II 195.1—and in the Triumph-Scenes 2, *ARI* II 199.14, II 200.2—in the Gorf Hasein Temple Triumph-Scenes 1. *ARI* II 200.10, at Wadi es-Sebua 2. *ARI* II 201.1, II 201.13—at Derr 1, *ARI* II 202.10—at Aksha 3. *ARI* II 210.5, II 211.7, II 212.9—at Amara West 3. *ARI* II 214.6, II 214.9, II 220.5—Tanis 8, *ARI* II 289.5, II 289.10, II 291.7, II 291.8, II 294.1, II 300.1, II 407.16, II 409.1, at Bubastis 1. *ARI* II 306.1, Wadi Sannur 1, *ARI* II 308.8.

stands on a supine Asiatic soldier with his foot upon the enemy's head (Figure 1). The accompanying text reads, *pꜣtꜣ ꜥꜣ Rꜣꜣꜣ ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ* "Trampled is the land of Reenu with their chiefs" Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 54a, 54a. Here a direct parallel between the text and the relief is drawn by the artist and scribe. In this case the action of *pꜣtꜣ* taken against this particular city is represented by the king trampling the *chief*.² The same action of this king trampling his enemies under his feet as well as his horses and chariot is seen frequently Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 45, 50, 53, 55, 55a, 54, 57, 66; see *ibid.*, 62.

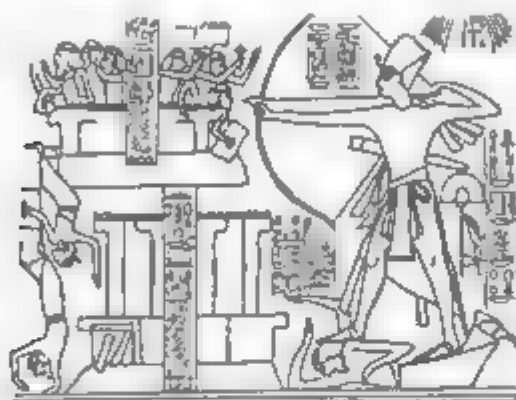


Figure 1. Ramesses II trampling on the head of an enemy
Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 54a

ꜥꜣ

Lexicography. The finite verb *ꜥꜣ* is defined as "etw. zerstören, zu Grunde richten. Besonders im Kriege: ein Land und seine Bewohner zu Grunde richten; zu Grunde gehen. 11. Auch vor verbalisierten Nomen 12" *U3* I 578: "to loose, release, loosen, cast off, get rid of, destroy, exterminate" Faulkner 1962: 98: "to slay, to destroy, to desolate, to dismantle, to devastate, to ruin, to crumble, to break into, to annihilate, to be neglectful" (*DIA* I 191).

Occurrences and Context. The term *ꜥꜣ* is found once in the military documents of Seti I (*KRI* I 142.1) and thirteen times during the reign of Ramesses II: on various copies of the *Poem of the Battle of Kadesh* 2 (*KRI* II 20.13, II 76.7); in the texts accompanying the *Reliefs* 1 (*KRI* II 142.5, at Luxor 1, *KRI* II 180.14; Tams 3 *KRI*

II 289.14; II 409.1; II 409.14 Gebel Shalaf 1 *KRI* II 302.16; Abu Simbel 2 *KRI* II 318.15; II 318.16; Aswan 2 *KRI* II 344.15; II 345.3 and on a fragment from Bubastis 1 *KRI* II 465.7. 1. also occurs seventeen times during the reign of Ramses III *KRI* V 46.1; V 42.8; V 44.2; V 45.13; V 46.2; V 46.3; V 43.14; V 58.7; V 58.2; V 60.7; V 62.15; V 63.9; V 65.8; V 73.11; V 79.4; V 113.2

During the XIXth Dynasty *ḥ* is found in context with the destruction of "rebellious seed" *KRI* I 102.1, the land of Ham and other foreign lands *KRI* II 76.7; II 409.1; II 409.14; II 461.7. This general usage is reflective of other language during this period. Once again it is the king who "destroys." During the time of Ramses III the contextual setting changes to incorporate a wider semantic domain. Although many usages remain similar *ḥ* is now also employed to describe the destruction of towns *and* *KRI* V 42.8; *KRI* V 60.7; *KRI* V 79.4. For example: "Devastated *kḥ* and desolated *ḥ* were their towns *and* non-existent was their seed *per*." *KRI* V 60.7. In this case two words *kḥ* and *ḥ* are used to describe the actions of the Meshwesh. The word *kḥ* means "to plunder; to take captive." This phrase seems to indicate then that the towns were first "plundered" and then also "desolated" or "destroyed." The cause of destruction may be inferred from the previous phrase "having fallen upon the Tehenu, who were made ashes." In this instance the Tehenu themselves are made ashes as their towns are plundered and then destroyed by fire. This action of the Meshwesh, a Libyan seceding group against the Tehenu must not be interpreted as Egyptian military activity, but it provides a farther contextual understanding of the verb *ḥ* as it is used in Egyptian military documents.

Iconography. For the military actions against cities and towns, see *ḥ*, 44-52

mh

Lexicography The finite verb *mh* is defined as "II ohne m. der jüngere Gebrauch jern. 14 (etw. 15) lassen, packen eine Stadt erobern 16" (*Wb* II 119); "[2] etw. packen, sich eine Sache bemächtigen, mit m. m. *mh* gelangen." Erman and Grapow 192, 188: "seize, lay hold of; capture." Faulkner 1962: 113, "to hold fast; to grasp, to seize" *DLE* I: 231

Occurrences and Context The term *mh* occurs once in the reliefs of Sen I in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak on the register that

contains the record of his campaign against the Libyans *ARI* 12-13. It occurs one time during the reign of Ramses II (*ARI* II 228.2) and once in the Merenptah Stela *ARI* IV 19.5. It is employed seven times in the military inscriptions of Ramses III *ARI* V 26.4, V 26.12, V 43.12, V 69.12, V 70.8, V 70.12, V 101.12, V 113.2.

During the time of Sen I *mh* refers to the king who "seizes *mh* in every foreign land" *ARI* 1.21.1. Here, as in the time of Ramses III, the king is compared with Montu. Later in the Merenptah Stela it is stated that the city of Gezer has been seized *mh* *ARI* IV 19.5. From the context the usage of the term seems to mean that Gezer was "captured." Although the terminology in the Merenptah Stela does not preclude the destruction of the city, it also does not provide "destruction," as a meaning that can be associated with *mh* see Weinstein 1987. Moreover, in the tulary of Merenptah at Amada, the king is described again as the "plunderer (*hf*) of Gezer." This reinforces the Egyptian perception of actions taken at this site. The term *hf* has a number of extended meanings (see 41-44) but most often signifies the "plundering" of a city. Thus, while the Egyptian terminology during the reign of Merenptah leaves open the possibility of the destruction of Gezer, it implies consistently a "seizing" and "plundering" of that city.

During the reign of Ramses III *mh* is found typically as a stereotypical epithet of the king who is often depicted as Montu *ARI* V 4.2, or predatory animals such as falcons *ARI* V 26.12 *ARI* V 43.12, *ARI* V 69.2 lions *ARI* V 70.12 or panthers *ARI* V 26.4 cf. Cifola (1991: 29) who "seize upon" their prey.

Iconography For the reigns during the reign of Ramses II depicting plundering and capturing, see *hf*, 44-52.

nwh

Lexicography The finite verb *nwh* is defined as "fesseln, binden 14, mit *n* den Koser, an den Ptah binden 15" *Ud* II 223 "bind enemies" Easokner 1962: 128 "to bind, to handage" *DJA* II 12.

¹ Some scholars have translated *hf* here as "conqueror" (Gardiner 1913: 959), "binder" Breasted *ARE* 3.259; Kitchen 1966b: 60; "subduer" Yaron 1980: 27 and "defeater" Redford 1986a: 197). All of these terms signify that *hf* does not necessarily imply destruction but refers instead to the subjugation of the city of Gezer.

Occurrences and Context The term *nwh* is used only twice during the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It appears in a triumph scene and topographical list of Seti I at Karnak *ARI* I 26,13 and in a topographical list of Ramses III *ARI* V-97,8.

In both cases where it occurs it is Amun-Re Harakhty who claims to "bind," *nwh*, the enemies for the king so that they are united in his grasp. This again implies the close relationship between divine approval of military activity and the importance of ideological legitimation of the activities of the crown.

Iconography. The reliefs accompanying the textual account depict the king grasping his enemies in one hand as they kneel before him with hands raised in submission (Wresznska 1945: 1af, 3a). Amun stands before the king handing him a sickle sword, thus providing the means for the king to carry out his actions against the bound enemy (see *hwt*, 37).

hwt

Lexicography The finite verb *hwt* is defined as "Tätigkeit einer Person; auch von der Keule u.ä., die den Feind schlägt 1; insbesondere: in feindliche Wesen schlagen, fremde Völker 8. die Feinde 5; auch Feindliche Götter u.ä. 16." *HD III* 40. "beat, strike, smite." Faulkner 1962: 165; "to smite, to smite, to clap, to beat, to tresh, to repress" (*DLE II*, 100).

Occurrences and Context. The term *hwt* is often employed in Late New Kingdom military records. It was written ten times in the inscription at Seti I at Karnak on the register of the Hypostyle Hall depicting his battle against the Hittites (1 *ARI* I 19,2 and the Loyalists (2, *ARI* I 2, 7; I 21,11); on the topographical lists at Karnak (4 *ARI* I 26,2, 12, 5; I 29,13, 130,1 on the Alabaster Stela 1, *ARI* I 39,6 on the Great Dedicatory Inscription at Speers Artemis 1, *ARI* I 42,13 and on the rock-stela at Qasr Ibrim 1, *ARI* I 48,15). It appears eighteen times during the reign of Ramses II, in two versions of the *Bulletin* (the Battle of Kadesh 1 *ARI* II 34,6-9 and later war scenes at Karnak 3 *ARI* II 155,5; II 165,12; II 168,14; at Abydos 1 *ARI* II 91,12 at Ben el-Wali 1 *ARI* II 198,3); at the Gerf Hussein Temple in Wadi es-Senhia 1 *ARI* II 201,15; at the temple in Aksha 1 *ARI* II 210,5 at the temple at Amara West 1 *ARI* II 212,14; on various rhetorical stelae from Tarsis 3 *ARI* II 291,1; II 291,5; II 294,12; Stela II from Bubastis 1 *ARI* II 306,20.

Tell el-Maskhuta fragment 1 *ARI* II 465.2, and obelisks from Tanis 2 *ARI* II 488.14 II 4.3.9 and twenty times in the inscriptions of Ramses III *ARI* V 10.12; V 16.9; V 17.7; V 21.8; V 23.8; V 26.6; V 26.12; V 28.8; V 32.10; V 38.5; V 39.13; V 41.1; V 50.10; V 51.11; V 73.14; V 98.1; V 101.12; *MH* II 111.7-8

The generic term *hwt* is common in Late New Kingdom military records as a direct action of the king (Schäfer 1957, E. S. Hall 1986). The epithets of the king indicate that he "smites" his enemies, overthrowing those who rebel against him. In this context he is also referred to in a deified form as Horus "who smites *hwt* the foreign lands" (*ARI* I 30.1; Wildung 1977.6). Here, these actions are attributed to the king.

In the inscriptions of Ramses III the god ordains the battle by ordering the king, "Receive thou the sword that thou mayest smite *hwt* the Asiates" *MH* II 12.A.3 II 121B.6. In other cases, he is referred to as he who *hwt*, "smites," the Nine Bows *ARI* V 28.8 every land *ARI* V 2.8 and the rebellious countries *ARI* V 10.12. Again his depiction as lion or a divine falcon devouring or grasping his enemies is frequent (*ARI* V 17.7; V 26.12).

Iconography The scene of the king smiting his enemies is widely evident in the military reliefs of the New Kingdom (cf. E. S. Hall 1986, Figs. 43-8) and shows the king grasping his enemies with one hand as his other is raised with either a mace, sickle sword, or spear. Several times it is Amun who stands before the king to hand him the sickle sword (cf. E. S. Hall 1986, Figs. 43-46, 50, 52, 53, 56, 64, 65-70; Figure 2). This parallels the phrase, "Receive thou the sword, that thou mayest smite *hwt* the Asiates" *MH* II 12.A.3 II 121B.6. Once again the iconography mirrors what is communicated in the textual account regarding the king's actions against the enemies of Egypt.

hwt

Lexicography The finite verb *hwt* is defined as "Pl. mit Objekt der Sache etwas rauben; erbeuten auch im Kriege . . . III ohne Objekt rauben, stehlen." *Wb* III 36-37 "rob, plunder" Faulkner 1962: 166; "to plunder, to rob" (*DLE* II 10).

Occurrences and Context The term *hwt* is found only once in the military inscription of the Late New Kingdom, in the Beth Shan Stela of Ramses II *ARI* II 151.7

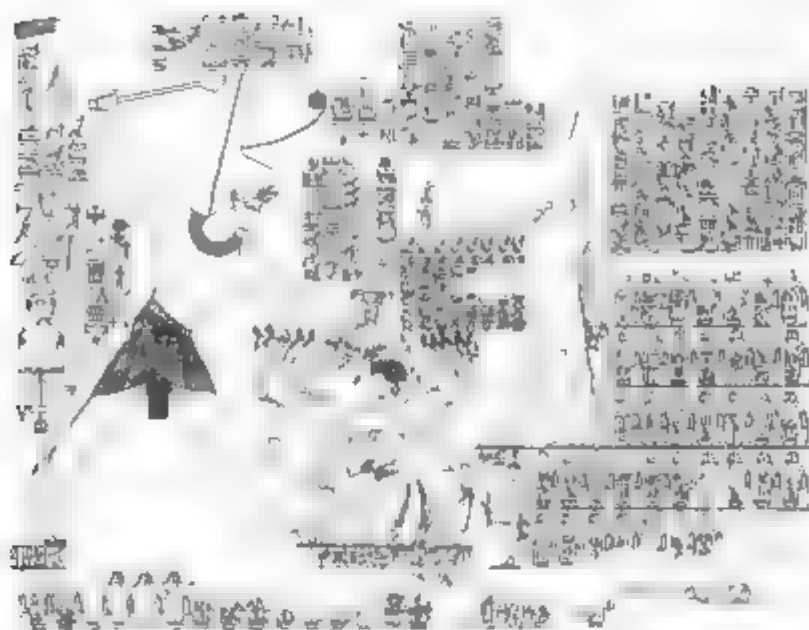


Figure 2. Seti I receiving the reward to smite his enemies

F. S. Hall 1986 Pl. 45

Its use in the Beth Shan Stela, Year 18, is in a description referring to Egypt being 'plundered'—probably by the Asiatics. Ramses II is pictured as one who 'has rescued Egypt when it was plundered' (*hwt*), 'watching against the Asiatics'. This term is therefore referring to the wrongful act of Egypt's neighbors, from whom Ramses must 'rescue' or 'deliver' *nhm* Egypt (Cerny 1958: 77ⁿ). In this sense, it does not refer to a military activity by Egypt against a foreign land, but an aggressive act against Egypt itself.

hwt

Lexicography The finite verb *hwt* is defined as "I Arme, Berme, Kopf abhauen, abschneiden 14, II enthaupfen, kopfen a. Fen 16, b. ein Tier 17, III das Herz ausschneiden 18" 14b III 16³ 'cut off head, cut out heart, behead' Faulkner 1962: 178; 'to cut off' *DLE* II: 141.

Occurrences and Context. The term *hwt* appears twice during the reign of Seti I in his campaign from Suw to Pa-Canaan on the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak 1, *KRI* 197 and at the Kanaas Temple

on a triumph and topographical list 1 *ARI* 137.9. It occurs once during the subsequent reigns of Ramses II on Pylon II at Karnak *ARI* II 168.5 cf. Kitchen 1996:43 Meretptah *ARI* IV 24.3 and Ramses III *ARI* V.35.2.

In every context where it occurs, this term refers to the beheading of "dissidents" *ARI* 19.7 the "chief" of Kush *ARI* 137.9, and in the case of Ramses III to the "cutting off" of the heads of the Asiatics *ARI* V.35.2. Moreover, this is always an action that is solely attributed to the king.

Iconography. The image of the king beheading the enemy is a familiar theme on the walls of temples (e.g. Hal, 1986: Figs. 44, 50, 51, 57-63). At the conclusion of his campaign from Sue to Pa-Canaan, Seti I stands before the gods grasping his enemies in one hand and raising a mace in the other. Amun stands before him, as he hands over the sickle sword to behead the enemies of Egypt (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 15a; see Figure 2).

hdb

Lexicography. The finite verb *hdb* is defined as "1. niederwerfen, a. ohne Angabe wohin, in Feinde, Länder, Städte niederwerfen, unterwerfen 2. auch mit u. jemanden 9. in jedes u. unter u. die Füße des Königs werfen 10. u. jemanden (den Feind) zu Boden werfen 11. zu Boden geworfen sein, -liegen: von den besiegten Feinden 12. Oft mit *hr* auf einem Platz liegen 13. in ihrem Blut daliegen" *Hb* III 2-35 "overthrow, be prostrate" Faulkner 1962: 16; "to prostrate, to cast down, to overthrow, to stretch out" *DLE* II 156.

Occurrences and Context. The term *hdb* occurs throughout the Late New Kingdom military documents. It parallels *phd* but occurs primarily in the reliefs of Seti I, Ramses II and Ramses III at the northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak in the reign of Seti I 2, *ARI* 1.8, 118.2 in the *Report* of the Ramses II's Battle of Kadesh 1 *ARI* II 440 possibly on a rhetorical stela VII from Tanis 1 *ARI* II 296.8 as well as in a stela from El-Amarna 1 *ARI* II 475.6). It occurs twenty-seven times in the reliefs of Ramses III *ARI* V 12.8, V.15.1; V.16.16; V.17.13; V.20.1, V.21.13; V.23.8, V.25.9; V.34.2; V.39.10; V.41.1; V.45.6; V.58.6; V.58.9; V.66.13, V.69.6; V.71.9; V.71.14; V.73.12; V.79.4; V.81.13; V.86.2; V.87.8, V.101.3; V.106.2.

During the XIXth Dynasty the term *hdb* is used solely to describe

the enemy or the chiefs prostrated "in their own blood" *ARI* I 8.11, I 8.2 *ARI* II 134.6. It is also used in close association with the terms *ppt* and *ht* *ARI* I 8.2. During the reign of Ramses III this remains part of the semantic context *ARI* V 38.3 although the term is now employed also to describe the enemies' prostration before the king's horses *ARI* V 69.6, and under the king's soles/feet *ARI* V 15.1, V 17.13, V 39.11. This subjugation of the enemy is usually done by the king, who is empowered by the gods *ARI* V 39.16, V 43.6. After the "heat" *ht* and "awe" of the king induces the effect of prostration *ARI* V 71.14, cf. Chola 1991: 28. This is a stereotypical term describing the effects of the battle on those peoples who rebel against the king.

Iconography For prostration under the king's horses see *ppt* 33, and *ht*, 62. In other contexts the inhabitants of the attacked cities are found bowing down in prostration before the king as he advances on his chariot. This is the case on the reliefs of Seti I at the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. The princes of Lebanon are fallen on their knees bowing before the king (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 10; see Figure 9). The inhabitants of Yeno-am are standing in the upper part of the city bowing down before the approaching king (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 11).

hf

Lexicography The finite verb *hf* is a later form of *h* *Wb* III 27; Kitchen 1984: 57. It is defined as "lösen, etw. aufgeben etw. zerstören, verderben, zu Grunde gehen" (Erman and Grapow 1961: 58); "plunder" (Faulkner 1962: 190) "*h/y*, to capture, to plunder" *DLE* II: 174.

Occurrences and Context The term *hf* occurs throughout the military inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty and to a more limited extent in the XXth. It appears five times in the accounts of Seti I at Karnak as part of the register of his campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan 2 *ARI* 18.8-111.4 (note 4th on the register of his campaign against the Hittites 1 *ARI* 123.8) and against Kadesh and Amurru *ARI* 124-4 on the north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall as well as the Nubian War stela Year 4-1, *ARI* I 102.1-1 appears much more frequently during the reign of Ramses II, particularly in his campaign to Syria in Year 8 recorded in the Ramesseum 13 *ARI* II 148.8; II 148.8; II 148.9; II 148.10; II 148.10;

II 148,1 II 148,12 II 148,12 II 148,13 II 149,2 II 149,3 II 149,4, II 149,11 in his undated war scenes at Karnak 12 *ARI* II 153,5, II 153,7 II 153,11, II 153,6, II 156,1 II 156,16, II 157,12, II 157,12 II 157,16, II 157,16, II 158,5, II 159,15, II 167,4 and at Luxor 13 II 180,2 II 180,3 II 181,2 II 181,3 II 181,4 II 181,11, II 182,1, II 182,6 II 182,12, II 182,13, II 183,4 II 183,4 (cf. Kitchen 1999). It also occurs in the records of his Nubian War at Amara West 1, *ARI* II 222,5 and on Obeisk V from Tanis 1, *ARI* II 413, 0. It appears six times in the inscriptions of Merenptah, in the Amada Stele 4, *ARI* IV 119, IV 119, IV 113, IV 115 the Merenptah Stele 2 *ARI* IV 111, IV 113 and in the Komy el-Ahmar Stele 1 *ARI* IV 21,16. Finally, it occurs only three times in the inscriptions of Ramses III (*ARI* V 44,9; V 55,2; V 55,3).

The term *hf* is most widely used to describe the military actions taken against a particular geographical and political entity, whether a geographical territory, town, or fortress. It is significant to note that in forty cases *hf* refers to toponyms (cities/forts), in five cases to regions, and in only four to an action taken against people. In other words, 90 percent of its usage in military inscriptions of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties refers to the cities and regions encountered on these campaigns. The campaign of Seti I to southern Canaan in his first year describes the *hf* that took place to the *Šm* beginning from the fortress of *Šm* as far as Pa-Canaan (*ARI* 118, Kitchen 1993a: 9). In the upper register on the west side of the doorway at Karnak, one reads "The ascent which Pharaoh I-Ph made to *hf* the land of Qadesh and the land of Amarna" (*ARI* 124-14 Kitchen 1993a: 20). In both of these instances regions and fortresses are being spoken of. What is meant by this "plundering" or "destruction"? Is destruction even part of this activity according to the Egyptians? These are significant questions for they bear directly on the archaeological record as it relates to these towns/fortresses.

In several instances further description is given regarding the specific events associated with *hf*. Regarding the *Šm* the Karnak reliefs further state "His Majesty seized upon them like a terrifying lion, turning them into corpses throughout their valleys, wallowing in their blood as if they had never existed." In describing *hf* against Retenu Syria the texts continue, "He has slain *sm* their chiefs." In both of these cases the killing of the inhabitants and their chiefs is implied by the writer. Several wider contextual references during the reign of Ramses II provide further insight.

In the inscriptions of his Syrian War in Year 8, Ramses II mentions the "plundering" of thirteen toponyms in the following manner, "Town which His Majesty plundered *hf* in year 8 the toponym." In some cases the year formula is excluded: "Town which His Majesty plundered *hf* GN the toponym." The list is repeated again in his undated war scenes at Karnak (12) and Luxor (13) where toponyms themselves are duplicated. Sometimes two toponyms are listed with each clause so that a total of thirty-five toponyms are said to have been *hf*. Although this formula is repeated again and again, there are several significant possible variations which deserve attention.

The toponym Dapur is recorded twice at the Ramessesum and once at Luxor.¹ On the Ramessesum Pylon the reference reads, "Town which His Majesty plundered *hf* in the land of *neset Dapur*" (ARF II 148-149). The term *hf* here has been translated as "sacked" (Gardner 1947: 178* and "plundered" (Kitchen 1964: 50). However, other texts referring to the same action employ different terms. In the parallel usings in the undated war scenes at Luxor the term *im* "carrying away" is employed (see *ibid.*). The reference states, "Town which His Majesty carried off *im* in the land of Hatti: Dapur" (ARF II 173-174). The Hypostyle Hall at the Ramessesum has a similar formula, "Town of Hatti which His Majesty armed *im*, Dapur" (ARF II 173-174). The relationship of these two terms (*hf* and *im*) depends on whether the various references to Dapur relate to one campaign or two. Several specialists connect the action taken against "Dapur in the land of Amurru" with the undated war scenes against "Dapur in the land of Hatti" as occurring in Year 8 (Bresson ARF 3158-160; Gardner 1947: 178*-179*; Helek 1971: 212-213; Raney 1971: 147; in the date see Schmidt 1973: 40; Youssef, Leveau and Maher 1977: vi-viii, xii note 1), while others have argued that the reference on the Ramessesum Pylon must be considered a separate

It is not the purpose in this chapter to identify each toponym. For this analysis, see Chapter Two.

The orthography of the town of Dapur in the Ramessesum Pylon text differs from that in the Ramessesum Hypostyle Hall and the Luxor Pylon text. Due to the variation some scholars have suggested two scales of the toponym No. 14: 69-72. Others insist on one scale for all forms of Dapur (W. M. Müller 1960: 63; Wesszelski 1963: remarks to Pl. 9-10; Bresson ARF 3158-160; Gardner 1947: 178*-179*; Kitchen 1964: 63, note 1, 68, note 4; 1982: 68-70; Helek 1971: 209; Raney 1971: 147; Schulman 1978: 135 note 32; Merschauer 1985-86: 17). These locations vary (cf. Merschauer 1985-86: 17, 18).

campaign Merschauer 1985-86: 19-21; see Chapter Two, 113-124. If all references are considered as part of the same campaign, one may view the terms *hf* and *mr* as describing similar actions. It is tempting to equate the "plundering of Dapur" with the "carrying away" of its goods. Although Dapur itself is used here as the object, it may be that an extended meaning can be inferred, as this formula is common throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties (see Merschauer 1985-86: see *mr*, 60-61). This relationship may be present in another inscription.

Kitchen AR/II 167 (note 4th) conjecturally reconstructed a reference at Karnak in the following manner: "(Town captured *hjk*) and taken *mr* by His Majesty *mr* *mr* *mr* which His Majesty plundered *hf*" AR/II 174. If this reconstruction is to be accepted, then, the stereotypical form of the text is written in a different manner, providing a significant insight into the military action of *hf*. Here, the terms *hjk* and *mr* are used to describe the action taken against the town. Thus, the town *mr*-*Sy* is "captured" and "taken." The following clause, "which His Majesty plundered *hf*" may be interpreted as an epexegetical phrase in parallel with the action described by *hjk* and *mr*. If this is true, then in this instance *hf* would refer to an action that would not necessarily include the destruction of the town itself.

A further example of the contextual usage of *hjk* and *hf* is found in an interchange among the unrelated war scenes at Karnak and Luxor. The Karnak reference states, "Town which His Majesty plundered *hf* - *Mn-t*" AR/II 156-7. Another reference to the same toponym at Luxor states, "[Town of] *Mn-t* for which the Mighty Swoof of Pharaoh captured *hjk*" AR/II 176-8. This interchange may point to the semantic relationship between these two terms, as is also evident from a lexicographical perspective (see *hjk* [Verb] 71-73). Both terms are defined as "to plunder, to capture" Faulkner 1962: 163, 190; *DLE* II 97, 174.

During the reign of Merneptah *hf* is used several times in the titulary of the king. The epithets of the Amada inscription, "Plunderer *hf* of Gezer" — who crushed *hf* the Libyans, bringing their end." As was outlined above, the term used for the action against

Others have thought that this may indicate a technical meaning of "to bring back under authority/control" Merschauer 1985-86: 20. However, in order to interpret this way Merschauer follows D. Lorton 1943: 15, who refers to this as the use of *mr* *gr* "acquiring boundaries." This terminology does not exist in the texts referring to Dapur. Instead *mr* is a *hf* in a *hm*, *Dpr* is the formula employed.

Gezer in the Merenptah Stela was *mh* "to seize." There is no contextual or lexicographic evidence to suggest that this plundering resulted in massive destruction of the site. The term employed does not preclude destruction. Weinstein (1991: 107; Hoffmeier 1991: 121-122), neither does it tell us explicitly that this type of activity took place. The newly uncovered representational evidence at Karnak Yarro (1986: 1980) may further elucidate the meaning of *hf* in this context. Again in reference to his campaign against the Libyans the writers of the Amada stela use the term twice: first in the titulary and second, in the description: "The awe of his might against the land of the border-landers destroyed *hf* them at once; there became no heir to their land" (ARI IV:1,13). This again refers to human destruction and not to the destruction of their villages or cities. It is reflected once again in the Merenptah Stela, "Land waste *hf* as Icheu" (ARI IV:19,3). In one other case *hf* occurs in connection with villages: "Seth turned his back upon their end; by his word their villages were razed, *hf*" (ARI IV:13,11; M. Lichtheim (1976: 75; Wilson 1969b: 377) has translated "their settlements are abandoned" based on the following statement: "There is no work of carrying baskets in these days." If a city were "plundered" and its people and goods taken, this might be a loose translation. However, lexicographically, "plundered" is a better translation here.

It is significant then that although *hf* has been equated with *h* (Wb III: 261; Kitchen 1964: 57), defined by the Wb I: 178 as "ein Land und seine Bewohner zu Grunde richten," contextual usages of the term *hf* with *h* and *mh* during the reign of Ramses II have important implications for the meaning of *hf* as "plundering." Lack of other contextual support for the meaning of physical destruction of the fort or town itself in these cases should also be considered as significant (Merschauer 1983-86: 20). It has been noted above that during the reign of Seti I this term was employed in conjunction with *mh* and the destruction of human life. In this context the political leader of the town is the one dealt with as well as his followers. What follows is the plundering of his city. Likewise the lexicographical evidence seems to support the idea of "plunder" or "capture" as the primary meaning of *hf* with severe retributions for the inhabitants and local rulers, as implied by contextual references.

Iconography The reliefs add important information to the contextual and semantic analysis presented above. The cities are frequently portrayed in stereotypical fashion together with the textual

description. There are occasional departures, however, from idealized representations, and these are highly instructive (Schulman 1964b: 17).

In his campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan several forts are depicted around the chariot and figure of Seti I. Gardiner (1920) outlined his reconstruction of the route, attempting to identify each fort with its well or poorly depicted. Since the forts appear empty and there are no signs of destruction, it was assumed that these were Egyptian garrison forts located in strategic places along the "Way of Horus" (Gardiner 1920: 101). This is confirmed by the names accompanying the forts, e.g. The Mound of Memma, "precincts of Seti I," "Buto of Seti-Memmutat" (Gardiner 1920: 107-11). This interpretation is confirmed, more recently, on the basis of archaeological excavations (Oren 1987: 70-71; L. Dorhan 1987, see Chapter Two 48-50). The significance of these forts lies in their iconographic elements. They represent the artists' stylized depiction of forts which is typical during the XIXth Dynasty and quite standardized (Oren 1987: 73). However, it is important that none of them are shown as being attacked by the Egyptians or any signs of destruction such as skewed gates. Thus, the artist remained faithful to the textual account, which mentioned nothing of these cities being destroyed.

In further campaigns depicted on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall other elements may be observed. In all the scenes, the king is shown going forth against the cities. The fortress of Pa-Canaan is shown empty with several Syrians walking toward the king with hands raised in surrender (Pritchard 1954: 100, Pl. 329) while others on the battlefield are being slain. In the battle against Yene-ani, the king confronts the inhabitants on the battlefield. Several are depicted on horses while others hide in the trees with hands on their heads in submission. Those remaining in the city itself are depicted with hands raised in surrender (Pritchard 1954: 106, Pl. 330). In the battle against Lebanon, some are cutting down trees for the king and others are sawing themselves to the ground. The top part of the city wall which they inhabit is gone, as the top register is missing (Patonard 1954: 110, Pl. 33). Finally in the battle of Kadesh, defendants of the city are depicted on the walls still fighting while two Syrians below have opened the gate and are shown emerging on their knees in supplication (Pritchard 1954: 107, Pl. 324; Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 23; Figure 3). In each of these scenes at Karnak, there is no evidence of siege or destruction of the cities. The inhabitants meet the king on

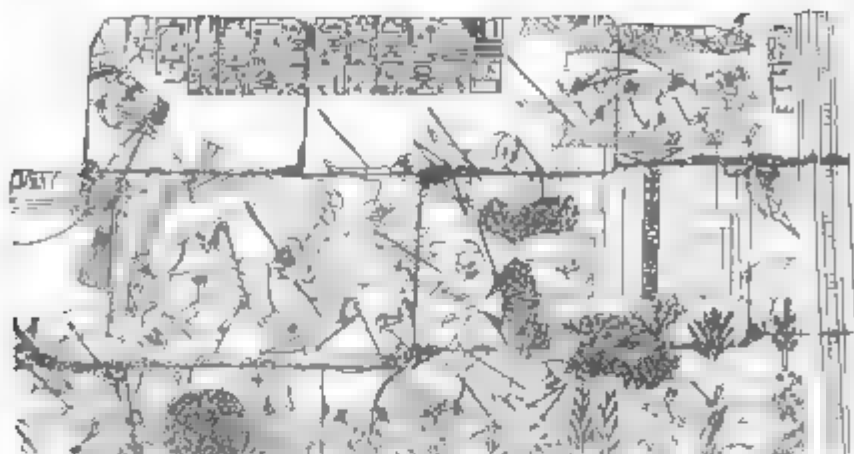


Figure 3. Seti I attacks the town of Kadesh
Epigraphic Survey 1986, Pl. 23

the battlefield, thus possibly preserving their cities, or surrender before the inevitable takes place. Only one clue as to what might have taken place after the cities were plundered appears in the campaign against Lebanon (Wieszinski 1933: Taf. 34a; Epigraphic Survey 1986, Pl. 10). Underneath the king's horses a city is depicted accompanied with the title 'Town of Qader in the land of Hittima' (*HR* I:47; Kitchen 1993a: 1). No description of the action taking place in the city is provided, but it is portrayed as deserted and empty with its gates skewed. This is the only city depicted in this manner on the reliefs of Seti I.

The reign of Ramses II marks one of the most productive periods not only for monumental architecture and building (for which Ramses is characterized Kitchen 1982: 36-37) but also for narrative art (Gardalia 1976: 1-4). The extensive iconographic evidence displayed in the minor war scenes at Luxor, Karnak, the Ramesseum, Bent el-Wah, and Amara West provides the bulk of iconographic evidence for the plundering of these cities.

The conquest of the city of Dapur is cited as the first example of Ramses II where a fortified site is besieged (Ramesseum, Youssief, Leblanc and Maher 1977: Pl. XXII; see Figure 4). The city is shown on a hill with a glacis as a siege is under way. The site consists of an inner and outer fortified wall and several towers (Type 3b; Badawy 1968: 2-3, fig. 24). The defendants are depicted on the towers and walls of the fortress. The Hittite enemies are shown to be falling off

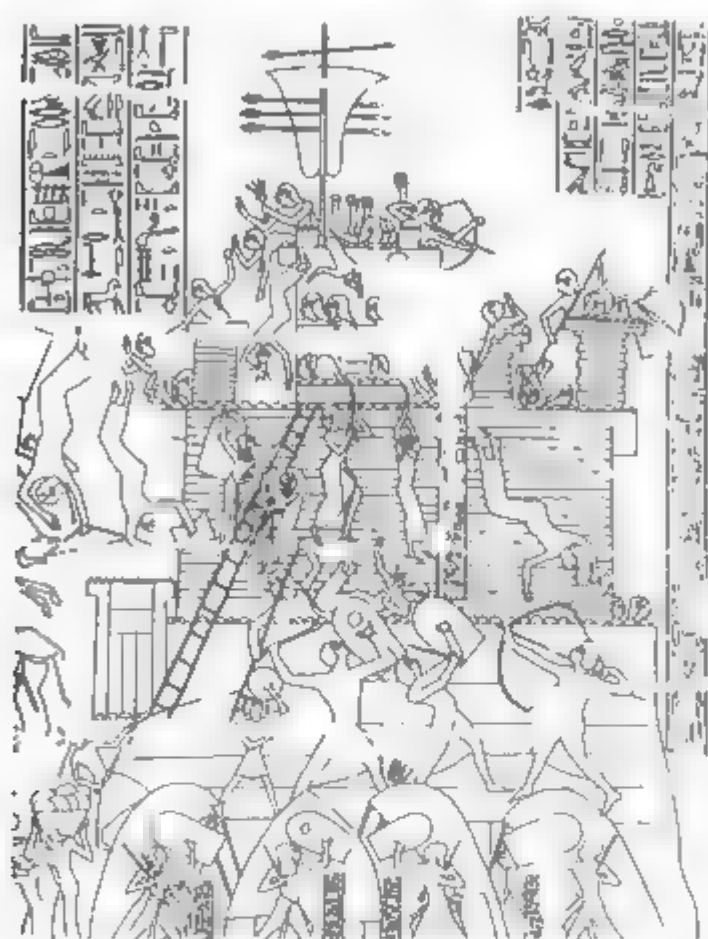


Figure 4. Ramessidean. Rameses II attacks the town of Dapur
Youssef, Leblond, and Maher 1977, Pl. XXII

the walls. Others are being pulled up on rope to more secure positions within the city. They are shooting down at the Egyptian attackers or throwing missiles at them.

Pharaoh rides larger than life toward the city shooting his bow and arrow. A scaring adder stretched to the inner wall is being climbed by two Egyptians. At the base of the glans, four marbles are depicted. Beneath the protection of the mantlets battering rams are being worked against the walls. In the foreground, a number of infantrymen are shielding the men underneath from a possible attack

from behind. In another part of the scene the Hittites are carrying away various goods in baskets toward the king. This seems to be part of the plunder that is referred to in the inscriptions. In a parallel scene of the attack on Dapur at Luxor (Wreszinski 1933: Taf. 77-80) Ramses II is shown approaching the city on foot shooting his bow at the fortress. The king tramples several prone Asiatics under his feet. The inhabitants of the city, again depicted as Hittites, are throwing stones and spears at the attacking troops. A group of three of the night are burning incense. The results of the battle are not shown in either scene.

Additional reliefs at Karnak and Luxor contain scenes of Syrian fortresses that show attacks in progress and the results of these attacks. Each of these is accompanied by the inscription: "Town which His Majesty plundered." At Karnak, two cities stand in relief, one above the other. The names of the cities are almost completely destroyed (Wreszinski 1933: Taf. 54a). The king tramples his enemies below his feet while he raises his bow against the upper city. The inhabitants of that city are on the walls bowing in submission to the king. The lower city stands empty with its gate askew. The same pattern is repeated in the plundering of *Ḫruza* and *Mutir*. Here the king is riding forth on his chariot while the enemies are crushed and trampled below the horses. His bow is aimed toward the upper city of *Ḫruza*. Its inhabitants are bowing before the oncoming fury of his chariot. The gates are still intact. The city of *Mutir* is depicted empty with its two gates askew (Wreszinski 1933: Taf. 54-55; Porter, Moss, and Burney 1972: 57-58). At Beit el-Wâli the same city is shown with the king advancing on foot. Beside and slightly in front of him, a prince is depicted waving an axe and charging at the city. No siege equipment is portrayed (cf. Schulman 1963b: 17-18).

In another relief at Karnak two cities are again shown, one above the other (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 55a; Figure 5). The upper city has soldiers falling from the walls while its inhabitants bow before the king. The king is shown trampling the enemy with a raised mace ready to smite the city. Its two gates are intact. The lower city of *Akko* has its gates askew and stands empty.

At Luxor there are two scenes published by Kitchen (1964: Pl. V-VI) in which the upper fort contains suppliant Asiatics being conquered by the king. He stands before them brandishing a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right. The lower forts are already conquered and abandoned, "symbolized by the skewed left jamb of each

of its two doors" Kitchen 1964: 57. These forts all indicate structural damage primarily to their gate areas where the Egyptians entered into the city before plundering it.

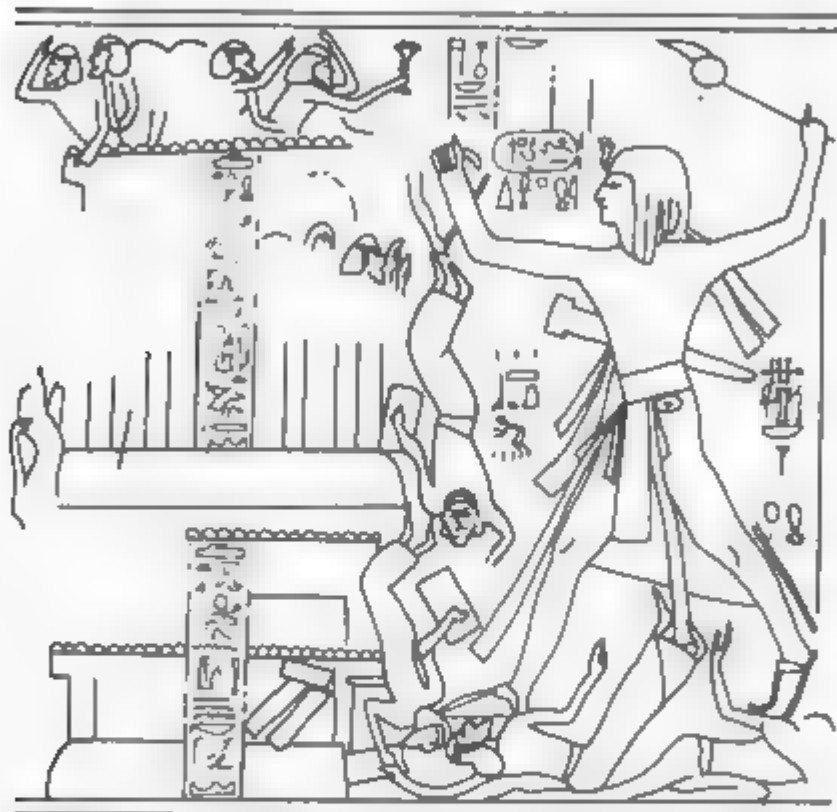


Figure 5. Ramesses II attacking the town of Adko and Asastra.
Wieszinski 190: Taf. 2.3.

The final example from the reign of Ramesses II is an unnamed Syrian city on a hill pictured in the Luxor temple (Wieszinski 190: Taf. 65) with both gates askew. The window lattices are hanging away and bricks are shown falling off the walls. To the left of the city, in the surrounding hills, the fruit trees have been cut down and the only vegetation allowed to survive is the shrubs and bushes (see *Military Activity Against Crops/Orchards/Trees*, 82-83). There is no accompanying textual description to which this relief may be compared.

There is a series of four reliefs on the "Cour de la cachette" at

Karnak. These scenes were long attributed to Ramses II, but most recently have been reassigned to Merneptah and correlated with the cities mentioned in the Merneptah Stela (Stager 1985b, Yaron 1986, 990; see Chapter Three, 199-201). The first city in Syria-Palestine that is mentioned on the stela is Ashkelon, a city that is specifically depicted and named on the reliefs at Karnak (Pritchard 1964, 12 Pl. 334 Yadin 1963, 228, Figure 6). This is the only portrait of this city known from Egyptian reliefs. The king is shown on the right charging in on his chariot, bow and arrow pulled in readiness against the city. The city consists of a double wall flanked

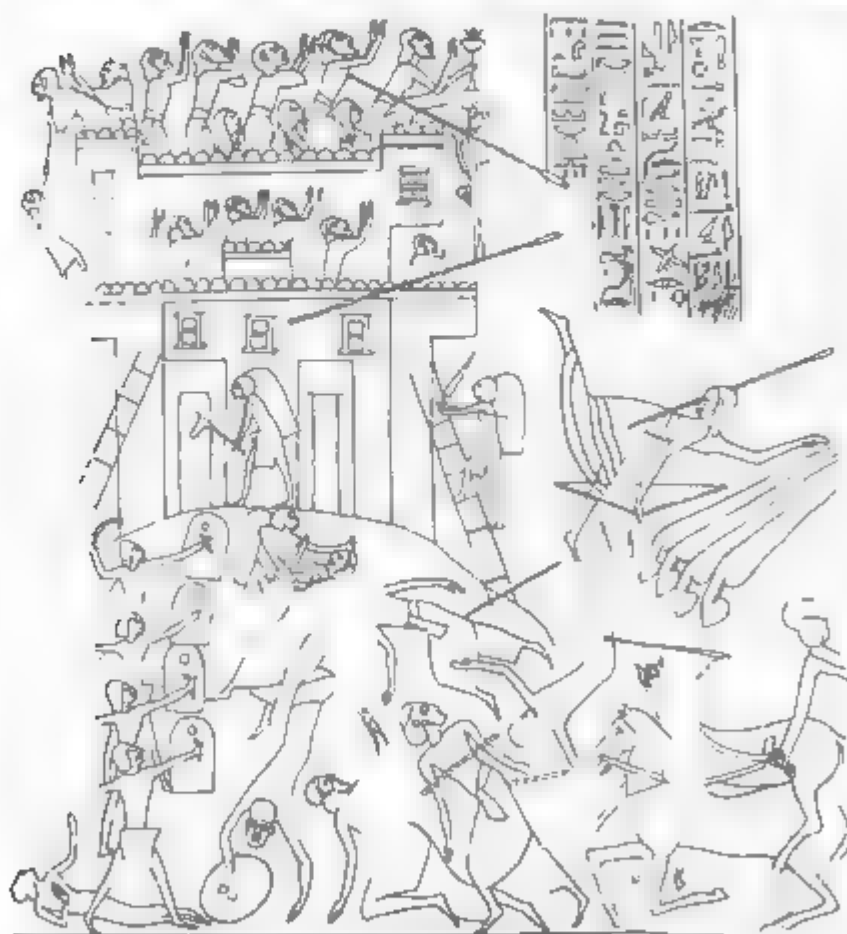


Figure 6, Merneptah attacks the town of Ashkelon:
Wessendorf 1995, Tab. 58

with Asiatics raising their hands in subservience and burning incense. Two scaling ladders are portrayed, one with an Egyptian ascending. While a far flung battle is also taking place below the rampart, another infantryman has climbed to one of the gates and is hacking it down with a battle-axe. Since this is a depiction of the battle in progress, it does not indicate the outcome. The inscription states: "the wretched city which His Majesty carried off *im* when it was wicked, Ashkeanu" (Yadin 1963: 228).

Ramses III in his battle against Tump III (Pl. 88, Figure 7), charges against the city in his chariot. Two scaling ladders have been placed against the outer wall and are being climbed by an infantryman. Several have already overcome the defenses above and are shown striking the Syrian soldiers. Below and between the ladders three Egyptians have climbed to the gate and are hacking away at it with battle-axes. A row of Egyptian archers stands and shoots against the city. On the top of the second wall the defenders raise their hands in surrender to the oncoming king and burn incense.

The importance of these representations from the XIXth and

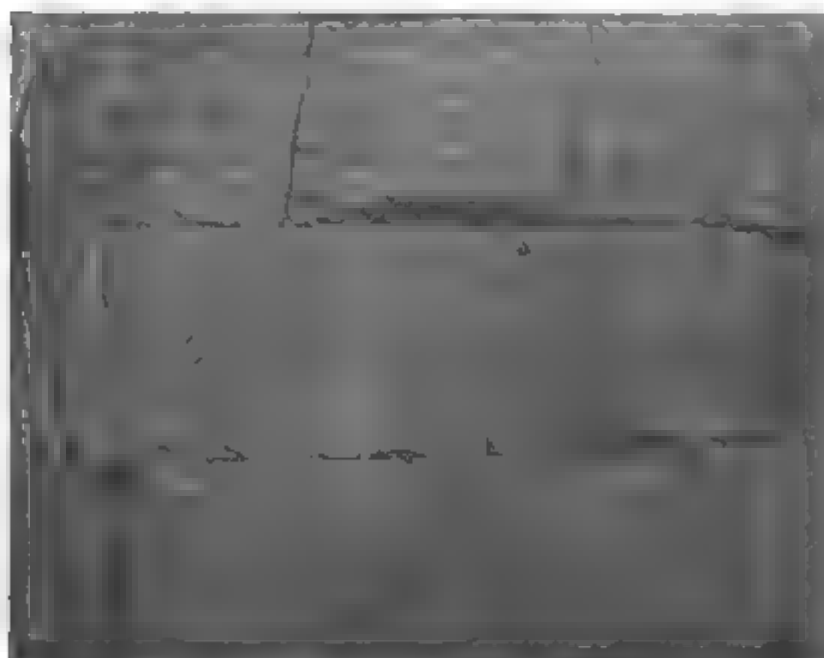


Figure 7, Ramses III attacks the town of Tump
VIII II, Pl. 88

XXth Dynasties lies in the tactical information they provide for the siege and defense of a city. A pattern emerges in these reliefs. The city above that is being attacked and defended is consistently intact. The fortress below is always shown empty with its gates askew or its window lattices hanging awry. One may conclude that the upper city shows a stage in the battle where it is in the process of being plundered, while the lower city shows the effects of the plundering. Whether this is primarily symbolic or portrays the actual military actions of the Egyptians is impossible to know from these highly stylized reliefs. It might also be possible to conclude that when the defenders surrender and abandon the city, it does not necessarily suffer destruction. But if they continue to resist, the Egyptians are forced to penetrate the walls by force or extended siege. The relief of Merneptah's actions against Ashkelon and the military action of Ramses III against Thebes indicate further details as they depict Egyptian soldiers hacking at the gates of the cities. Other actions include the use of siege equipment, i.e. the battering ram and scaling ladders. Often the reliefs and the accompanying texts are able to aid in identifying which action was taken by the two opposing forces. Open land battles were predominant, but at times they ultimately developed into a face-off against a fortified city, if such a city existed.

The *h3* "plundering" of a city implied a penetration into the city and a confiscation of spoils and goods from that city. If there was an immediate surrender and force was required to enter the city, one might expect some evidence of destruction. However, the city's total annihilation or destruction following this act of plundering is neither implied nor evident in the textual and iconographic sources of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties.



Lexicography The finite verb *h3b* is defined as "niederwerfen, niederstrecken die Feinde u.a., Allen 12 oder mit Angabe unter die Sohlen u.a. des Königs 13. Auch mit *n* vor des Königs 'Macht Namen' 4. Auch *D* 20 sich niederwerfen mit *n* vor dem König 15." *h3b* III 402 "overthrow" Faulkner 1962: 215, "to overthrow to prostrate" *DLF* II 213. It is often written with *wny* the determinative during the late New Kingdom. *Wb* III. 402.

Occurrences and Context The term *h3b* occurs four times in the military documents of Seti I on a triumph scene and topographi-

cal list at Karnak 1 *ARI* I 26-9 on his Great Dedicatory Inscription of Year 2 *ARI* I 42 + 14-13 and at Kanais 1 *ARI* I 68, 14. It is employed four times during the reign of Ramses II at Luxor 1, *ARI* II 176, 3; and at Abydos 2, *ARI* II 191, 16; II 213, 3.

In most cases this stereotypical term refers to the final outcome of the campaign. In its general usage it refers to the "overthrowing" of 'all lands' *ARI* I 42 + *ARI* II 191, 6; II 213, 3 and the subjugation of the enemies beneath the sandals of the Pharaoh *ARI* I 26-9; I 42, 1). The contextual usage with other terminology indicates that this action means that Egypt will "rule over lands" (*ARI* I 68, 14). The scribe seems to refer directly to political capitulation and subjugation.

Iconography See *ppt.* 32-33; and *tbl.* 62

hdb

Lexicography The finite verb *hdb* is defined as "II geraden mit einem Feinde im Kampf 5. Seit Ver. h. vom Geraden der Freyer totet u. a. 6. Seit Ver. c. als vulgares Wort für jemanden tötendagen 7. jdm hinrichten 8." *Hb* III 403. *klf* Faulkner 1962: 205: "to slay, to kill" (*DLE* II 214).

Occurrences and Context The term *hdb* occurs throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It occurs once at Abydos during the reign of Seti I *ARI* I 46-9. *sm*. In the inscriptions of Ramses II it appears ten times, in several copies of the *Poem of the Battle of Kadesh* 6, *ARI* II 47, 7-10; II 65-12, 4, 6; II 71, 6-10; II 88, 15-16; II 94, 5-10; in several copies of the *Bucania* 1 *ARI* II 12-11, 2; in the *Reliefs* 2 *ARI* II 152, 15; II 153, 8-9; and at Ber el-Wali 1 *ARI* II 190, 4. It appears eight times in two tribute *mt* lists of Merneptah found in his great inscription at Karnak 3, *ARI* IV 8, 5; IV 8, 6; IV 8, 13; and in the Kom el-Ahmar Attribis Stele 5 *ARI* IV 22, 3; IV 22, 5; IV 22, 6; IV 22, 7; IV 22, 10. It is used infrequently in the inscriptions of Ramses III 3 *ARI* V 36, 2; V 95, 2; V 97, 2.

This term is employed stereotypically to depict the action of the king in "slaughtering" or "slaying" the enemies of Egypt. Often it is used together with other verbs like *at* *ARI* II 69, 12-14; II 135, 8-9 to accentuate its effects of totality. This is also referred to by the accompanying clause *sm sm* "so that they were not" (*ARI* II 71, 6-10; II 88, 5-16) or "and did not allow one of them to escape" *ARI*

* From the context and translation (Kitchen 1993a: 39) this term seems to be a scribal error and should read *hdb*.

II.132,11. This concept of totality is often repeated in other contexts as well when referring to the "slaughtering" of the enemy. The term *hdb* is also closely associated with the collection of *im* "tribute, booty" (see 69,71). During the campaign of Merenptah against the Libyans at *im* of phials and hands are recorded as being brought back from those "slain" *hdb* *ARI* IV.83, IV.84, IV.84,3, IV.223. The contextual setting of terminology during the reign of Ramses II adds very little to the usage during the XIXth Dynasty.

Iconography For the iconography of slaughtering or killing in general, see *ims*, 55-56.

im

Lexicography The finite verb *im* is defined as "A toten, schlachten" (nach den Menschen mit einer Waffe) "Menschen toten" (allgemein, einen einzelnen toten, morden) 833, beson. Feinde im Kampf toten, 11. auch die fremden Völker toten, sei *D 19* vom König 12" *Bib* IV.122, "kill, destroy" Faulkner 1962: 226, "to say to murder, to slaughter, to sacrifice" *DLP* III.47.

Occurrences and Context The term *im* is employed forty-nine times during the XIXth Dynasty and fifty-six times in the military documents of Ramses III, making it one of the most frequent verbs describing Egyptian military action against its enemies. It occurs nine times in the inscriptions of Set I: in the north face of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak against the Syro-¹ *ARI* I.93, I.107, the Hittites ² *ARI* I.38,1, and the Libyans (referring to Retenu), *ARI* I.253. It also occurs in the Great Dedicatory Inscription, Year 1 at Speos Artemidos *ARI* I.42,14, I.42,15. It also appears on the rock stela of Year 6 at Silsila ³ *ARI* I.100,1, the rock stela at Qasr Ibrim ⁴ *ARI* I.18,16, and a stela fragment from Amara West ⁵ *ARI* I.174,14. The scribes of Ramses II employ the term twenty-four times, in two copies of the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh ⁶ *ARI* II.20, in several copies of the *Bulletin* of the Battle of Kadesh ⁷ *ARI* II.1,24-7, in two copies of the *Reliefs* of the Battle of Kadesh ⁸ *ARI* II.134b, II.35,15, in the undated war scenes at Karnak ⁹ *ARI* II.137,9, at Beit el-Wah ¹⁰ *ARI* II.197, at Aksha ¹¹ *ARI* II.21,9, Amara West ¹² *ARI* II.220, a stela at Byblos ¹³ *ARI* II.224-8, rhetorical stelae from Tais ¹⁴ *ARI* II.289,6, II.289,13, II.290,5, II.294,2, II.296,5, II.296,9, II.407,10, Gebel Shauf ¹⁵ *ARI* II.302,4, Tel el-Retaba ¹⁶ *ARI* II.304,4, Bubasis ¹⁷ *ARI*

II 306.11 Abu Simbel; *ARI* II 321.1, obelisks from Tanis 1 *ARI* II 409.16, II 414.11). It is often employed in the reign of Ramses III (96, *ARI* V 33.10, V 41.1, V 43.6, V 58.6, V 58.9, V 66.13, V 69.2, V 71.9, V 71.14, V 73.12, V 79.4, V 81.13, V 86.2, V 87.8, V 101.3, V 106.12, V 29.5, V 34.2, V 34.7, V 35.11, V 36.5, V 36.12, V 39.11; V 41.2, V 43.13, V 44.7, V 44.11, V 45.4, V 46.14, V 47.1, V 47.14, V 48.2, V 48.9, V 51.5, V 53.7, V 57.13, V 60.8, V 61.8, V 69.1, V 70.3, V 70.8, V 70.9, V 70.16, V 71.14, V 72.9, V 82.14, V 83.14, V 87.8, V 92.14, V 93.15, V 97.4, V 97.11, V 98.16, V 101.8, 5, V 102.6, V 102.8, V 102.8, V 102.10, V 102.10, V 102.12, V 102.12, V 104.5, V 107.9).

The term *my* is most often employed to describe the action taken by the king against his enemies. It refers to the *mya*, 'to come to battle' and is often used in association with *hwt* 'to smite' (*ARI* II 134.9; II 134.6; II 2.2). The action of *my* is carried out against the enemy in general (*ARI* II 134.9, the Nine Bows; *ARI* II 134.9, II 134.6, or the chiefs of various enemy lands; *ARI* I 181.1, 23.8, II 197.1). Often there is a sense of totality that accompanies the usage of *my*, so that "His Majesty slays *my* them all at once, he leaves no heirs among them" (*ARI* 147, Kitchen 1953a: 8, or 'slays *my* instantly before the entire population' (*ARI* 142.14, Kitchen 1953a: 35). Other stereotypical phrases like 'slaying hundred-thousands' or 'slaying a million in a completion of an instant' are employed (*ARI* II 34.1, Wilson 1927: 283, note; *ARI* II 21.1). This almost unpassing terminology is meant to reflect the prowess of the king, his bravery, and triumph. During the reign of Ramses III it becomes much more frequent, reflecting the bombastic nature of his accounts of Cadda (1991: 30-31). The wide usage of *my* and other terms like *hwt* may reflect the action taken against enemy peoples and leaders and would have little evidence in the archaeological record. This seems to be one of the main actions attributed to the king and his army.

Iconography The reliefs repeatedly show the results of the military action taken in the battlefield. Often the enemy is shown in a chaotic state of disarray before the chariot of the king. In the reliefs of Sen Iam on the northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak this is often the case. The inhabitants of Seta can be seen in a pile of bodies pierced by the swords and arrows of the approaching king (Epigraphic Survey 1980: Pl. 6). The same takes place against the inhabitants of Yenoam (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 11) as well as Karlesh

and Amarna Epigraphic Survey 1986 Pl. 23. This depiction can represent a number of actions but also explicitly shows the slain enemies in a state of confusion before the Egyptians.

shr

Lexicography The finite verb *shr* is defined as 'den Feinde niederwerfen, zu Boden strecken, toten, 1. von indischen Feinden 3. besonders 4. des Königs. Selten auch mit *mr* mit einer Waffe, over 5. häufig im Sinne von, ein feindliches Land unterwerfen, eine Stadt niederwerfen 7. IIb IV 257, "overthrow, throw down" Faulkner 1962:242; "to overthrow, to cast down, to throw down, to banish, to lay low" (*DLE* III:88).

Occurrences and Context The term *shr* is employed in military inscriptions throughout the late New Kingdom. It occurs three times in the documents of Sen I on a topographical list at Karnak 2, *ARI* I:30.1, I:30.6 and at Kanais in the record of a war against the Nubians 1, *ARI* I:35.8. During the reign of Ramses II it is found fifteen times on the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh 2, *ARI* II:30,7-9; II:41.10; the Rebels 1, *ARI* II:142, 5; in the Beth Shur Stele of Year 18 2, *ARI* II:100.13; II:101.9; in the undated war scenes at Karnak 7, *ARI* II:138; II:1714; II:1683; II:160.10; II:106.6; II:67.12; II:168.3; at the Ramesside in connection with the "plundering" of Dapur 1, *ARI* II:173.11; at Beu el-Wā 1, *ARI* II:96.14 and at Abu Simbel 1, *ARI* II:33.2. It is found only twice in the inscription of Merneptah at Amada, *ARI* IV:12 and on the formal triumph scene of Merneptah at Karnak (*ARI* IV:24,5). It appears much more frequently during the reign of Ramses III 20, *ARI* V:16.15; V:19.3; V:9.9; V:20.1; V:32.12; V:41.12; V:43.14; V:53.14; V:55.2; V:58.7; V:68.3; V:70.4; V:71.4; V:79.15; V:80.15; V:88.8; V:92.13; V:100.15; V:107.5; V:110.5.

The contextual setting of *shr* indicates that it is part of the stereotypical language portraying the defeat of the enemies before the king. The king himself is depicted as "overthrowing" his 'enemies' *mr* or *shr* *ARI* I:50.6; *ARI* II:80.7-9; II:42.5; II:150.4; II:58.3; II:66.9; II:67.12; II:168.13; IV:24.5; their chiefs *mr*, *ARI* I:4.8; *ARI* II:51.10; II:171.12 and the Nine Bows *ARI* II:196.14. Often this is associated with another action like "beheading the chiefs" *ARI* I:36.8; "slaying them *hdbw*" *ARI* II:96.14.5 or "smoking" them *hwt*, *ARI* I:30.1; *ARI* II:166.9. Once the action of *shr* is mentioned, in

several cases this is followed by the action of *mr t3 k*, "the carrying off of all the foreign lands" *ARI* II 167.12; II 168.13; *ARI* IV 24.

Thus before the carrying off of foreign lands the overthrowing of its inhabitants was necessary.

skt

Lexicography The transitive verb *skt* is defined as "vernichten zu Grunde richten; II. etwas zerstören u.ä. a) ein Bau 4; b) Stadt Land der Feinde 9. VP ähnlich wie *skt*" *Wb* IV 314 "to destroy to wipe out, to destroy" *DLE* III 105.

Occurrences and Context The term *skt* appears only three times during the reign of Seti I, in his campaign against Amuru and Kadesh at Karnak 1 *ARI* I 24.13, at Giza 1 *ARI* I 77.100 and on his rock stela at Qasr Ibrim 1 *ARI* I 99.17. It occurs five times during the reign of Ramses II, in the Beth Shan Stele of Year 18-1, *ARI* II 150.10, at Karnak 1 *ARI* II 104.15, in a rhetorical stela IX from Tanis 1 *ARI* II 300.1, another from Alut Simbel 1 *ARI* II 323.5-6, and a obelisk to m Tanis 1 *ARI* II 409.13. It does not occur again in the military documents of the late New Kingdom. Another variation with the meaning "lay" *DLE* III 105 occurs more frequently. This term does not describe the military action of Egypt but rather portrays the heat of the battle.

The semantic context of this term occurs in reference to the Pharaoh going forth "to destroy *skt* the land of Qadesh and the land of Amuru." *ARI* I 24.13. Other contexts describe the general destructive action taken against "all lands" *ARI* II 300.1. It may refer generally to the hopes of the Pharaoh before his action against these peoples, the writer assuming the eventual outcome.

skk

Lexicography The finite verb *skk* is defined as "zerhacken, zerstören; II eine feindliche Stadt zerstören 9 ein feindliches Land verwüsten 10 III die Feinde vernichten 1, auch mit *mr* unter den Feinden metzen 12" *Wb* IV 316 "destroy" Faulkner 1962 252, "to destroy" (*DLE* III 108).

Occurrences and Context The term *skk* is found throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It occurs four times in the northern wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak during the reign of Seti

1 in his description of the battle against Yeno am and Lebaron 1, *ARI* I 13.14 and in his battle against the Hittes 3 *ARI* I 18.14 I 22.6 I 29.9. It appears again on the rock stela at Qasr Ibrim 1, *ARI* I 96.3. During the time of Ramses II it appears only six times in the undated war scenes at Karnak 3 *ARI* II 11.9, II 64.16; II 180.13 on Stela II from Gebel Shaluf 1 *ARI* II 303.7, and at Abu Simbel 2 *ARI* II 319.5 II 319.6. *škt* occurs once in the Great Libyan War Inscription of Merneptah at Karnak *ARI* IV 5.8. The frequent use of this term in the inscriptions of Ramses III demonstrates a dramatic increase when compared with the XIXth Dynasty 21 *ARI* V 10.10; V 11.4; V 12.6; V 13.13; V 28.16; V 29.16; V 37.11; V 43.14; V 45.14; V 46.10; V 49.15; V 55.2; V 55.7; V 60.1; V 61.8; V 81.14; V 85.1; V 91.3; V 93.7; V 93.14; V 97.5.

The most frequent context of the verb *škt* is in reference to the destruction of enemy lands and towns. Only in a few cases does it refer to the "hacking up" of people. In the records of Seti I at Karnak, it is stated that he "*škt* the [enemy] land of Dja[hy]" *ARI* I 13.14 and again in the campaign against the Hittes that "he has *škt* the foreign lands, he has trampled down (*ppt*) the Hatti-land" *ARI* I 18.10. In both of these cases the destruction of the land as a whole is emphasized. But there is a more specific usage as well. Only a few lines earlier the strength of the paraol is referred to in metaphorical terms. The text states: "How mighty is his [the King's] power against them just like fire when he destroys *škt* their towns" *ARI* I 8.14. While this general statement may be interpreted as a direct reference to the destruction of cities by conflagration, the actual subject being described is the king. He is "like fire" in his activity against the towns. Given the wider contextual setting of this expression that repeatedly describes the king metaphorically, and by extension his army, this one occurrence does not describe a literal action of conflagration of cities, but the general fury and power of the Egyptians against their enemies (see Conflagration, 184-186). In another case Ramses II is referred to as the "destroyer *škt* of Qene, making all foreign lands as if they had never existed" *ARI* II 186.13. There are also references to the destruction of the Naharin *ARI* II 17.9. Only once during the XIXth Dynasty does *škt* refer to the destruction of peoples. Seti I is described, as he returns from Hatti with prisoners and *ore*, as one who is "*škt* the rebels and trampling down *ppt* the Asiatics in their places" *ARI* I 29.9. Here the verb *škt* is used in parallel with *ppt* indicating their close relationship.

The occurrence of the term *skt* in XIXth Dynasty military accounts suggests that the Egyptians perceived major destructive activity as taking place against a limited number of foreign lands, people and in one place a town. Often it is part of a larger metaphorical context concerning and describing the actions of the king. The relatively rare usage of *skt* in relation to military activity in the southern Levant suggests that the Egyptian practice of totally destroying lands and villages was quite infrequent and out of place.

sd

Lexicography. The transitive verb *sd* is defined as "1. zerbrechen, a. Feinde ein feindliches Land zerbrechen vom König im Kampf; 17. auch von einer Walle 18. und *sp* von der Flamme die den Boszen vernichtet 19; b) die Herzen 20; II Mauern seiner Festung brechen; I auch eine Öffnung brechen 12." *Wb IV*: 3-4. "to break, penetrate, to infer, to smash, to beat." *DLE III*: 20.

Occurrences and Context. The verb *sd* occurs four times in the military inscriptions of Seti I at Karnak, once in the campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan (*ARI I* 17, 1) in his campaign against the Hittites (*ARI I* 19, 2) and twice in his campaign against the Libyans (*ARI I* 2, 4-10, 8). It appears eleven times in the records of Ramses II on the Beth Shan Stela, Year 10: 1 (*ARI II* 10, 10) in the undated war scenes at Karnak: 1 (*ARI II* 106, 1) in his undated war scenes in Luxor: 2, (*ARI II* 116, 3-1172, 4) in the record of his attack against Djarh, the Ramesside: 1 (*ARI II* 173, 6) again on the west colossus in Luxor: 1 (*ARI II* 184, 4) on a rhetorical stela from Tani: 1 (*ARI II* 212, 2) on Stela II from Gebel Shaat: 1 (*ARI II* 303, 14) on a stela of Year 2 from Aswan: 1 (*ARI II* 364, 4) and on ostrichs III and VI from Tani: 2 (*ARI II* 410, 13, 11410, 2). It appears again eight times in the inscriptions of Ramses III (*ARI V* 12, 1; V 21, 9; V 32, 10; V 80, 1; V 83, 2; V 91, 14; V 92, 16; V 97, 16).

The verb *sd* occurs three times in the context of 'breaking' the enemies' heart: (*ARI I* 19, 2; *ARI II* 100, 10) or rathcing fear which 'penetrates' the enemy (*ARI V* 21, 9). This more abstract usage depicts the king as the cause of this action. More often *sd* is employed to describe the effects of military action against foreign lands and countries. Here again is the 'dread' caused by the king that results in.

During the campaigns of Thutmose III in the XVIIIth Dynasty *skt* appears even more infrequently cf. Hoffmeier 1989.

their being "shattered," "crushed," or "broken" *ARI* I 21,4-130,8 or the direct results of military action taken by the king *ARI* II 173,13, II 173,6, II 84,14. The contextual setting of *sd* as the idea of "piercing" through some thing as an arrow would is also found in the records of Ramses III where the king is both described and depicted as shooting arrows through his enemies *ARI* V 3,14; V 86,1. This rhetorical language seems to have little explicit meaning as to the effects of Egyptian military activity on specific sites. However, in other semantic contexts, this term may be significant in assessing specific actions taken by the Egyptian military against towns or lands.

As was noted above, lexicographically the meaning of "breaking through walls" is also given to this term 37 III 574. This usage occurs in two instances during the XIXth Dynasty. In the undated war scenes of Seti I at Karnak the following description is found: "Victorious king who protects Egypt, who breaches (*sd*) the walls in rebellious foreign lands" *ARI* I 7,1. This text is undated and is general in terms of designation, i.e., no specific toponym is found with it. However, another identical text attributed to Ramses II seems to have another context, for it appears after the description of the capture of the town of Dapur *ARI* II 160,7, see 42-43. Although it may be feasible to associate this description with the attack on Dapur, there are several reasons not to accept a direct correlation. First, the walls of Dapur are not explicitly mentioned as being "breached." Dapur is said only to be "carried away," *mt* see 66,37 in the description of the fort. Second, it is the defenders of Dapur who give this designation to the king. It is not made by Egypt directly. Only the general description of "those walls in rebellious foreign lands" is given by the defenders. Not even Hatti is mentioned. Finally, it is important to consider that this text may have been copied from Seti I since both are identical and appear at the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. If this is true, it may have nothing to do with Dapur. However, it is significant that even though this term may not be directly related to Dapur, it represents a clear concept of "breaching walls" during Egyptian military campaigns, a usage that already occurs in the records of Thutmose III (*Urk* IV 894,17; cf. Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 8 note 13a).

Iconography For the iconography depicting Dapur, see *ibid.* 40-48, Figure 4, 47.

ghgh

Lexicography The finite verb *ghgh* is defined as "den Feind niederwerfen, hinstrecken 3; II. *ghgh.t* von den erschlagenen Feinden a haufenweise niedergestreckt fallen v; dahiegen v; b zu Leichenhaufen machen, werden" (Wb V: 165); "zerha-kt, *ghgh.t* Leichenhaufen v; m *ghgh.t* niedergeworfen" (Erman and Grapow 1961: 198 "to make lame, prostrate?" (DLE IV: 56).

Occurrences and Context The verb *ghgh* appears only during the XIXth Dynasty in military inscriptions of Ramses II. The term is employed almost exclusively in the various accounts of the Battle of Kadesh in the many copies of the *Poem* 1 (ARI II 45,14-15; II 89,4-5,10; in the *Hymns* 2 (ARI II 122,9; II 123,4-5), and in the Reliefs 3, ARI II 134,10; II 135,12-13, 141,5. It occurs only once at the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (ARI II 191,2). It occurs twice again in the inscriptions of Ramses III (ARI V 14,4; V 15,7).

Consistently, when appearing as *ghgh.t*, the enemy is described as 'heaps of corpses' before the king's horses (ARI II 45,14-15; II 89,4-5,10; II 122,9). The second usage actually refers to the "casting down" of enemies. Here *ghgh* is employed to describe the action taken against the 'vile objects' or the ARI II 191,2 and the Hittite enemy (ARI II 123,4-5; II 135,12-13; II 141,5). This term is exclusively found in the context of the king's action against enemy peoples and does not describe actions against cities.

m

Lexicography The finite verb *m* is defined as "die Feinde niederschlagen, niederretten, zertreten, die Feinde unter sich treten" (Wb V: 244 "zertreten" (Erman and Grapow 1961: 262; "trample on" (Faulkner 1962: 264 "to trample on" (DLE IV: 77).

Occurrences and Context The verb *m* occurs in the XIXth Dynasty exclusively in the records of Seti I at Karnak in the campaign account from Sue to Pa-Canaan 1 (ARI I 7,10) in his campaign against the Hittites 2 (ARI I 18,1-1,8,8); and in his campaign to Kadesh and Amurru 1 (ARI I 1,4-13). It is employed only once during the reign of Ramses III (ARI V 87,7).

In almost all cases this term is employed in a rhetorical and stereotypical way to describe the action taken by the king against his enemies. They are trampled on by the king himself, his horses, or both (ARI I 7,10: 1,8, 1,8,8. Often the term *gpt* also appears in

parallel to *mh* *ARI* I 18.1, I 24.13. Only in one case is the term used in the possible context of destruction of settlements and villages *ARI* I 24.13, but here it is reconstructed by Kitchen in a very fragmentary text. It appears that this is a more general term that describes the king subduing his enemies.

Iconography The iconography accompanying the textual account of the campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan at Karnak maintains striking parallels with the text. Epigraphic Survey 1980, Pl. 2. Here the inhabitants of *Sisu* are depicted being trampled under the feet of the king's horses. In an accompanying scene two captives are to be seen amid the wheels of the chariot. Epigraphic Survey 1980, Pl. 1.

dr

Lexicography The finite verb *dr* is defined as "Femee fränliche Völker niederhalten, bezwingen, z. toten niederwerfen, u.a., die Femee veruchen in ihrem Lande" *Wb V* 474. "subdue, conquer, expel, drive out, people, remove, repress, destroy" (Faulkner 1962 314-5). "to subdue, repel, to overwhelm, to remove, expel, to dispel, to resist, deter, to cast down" *DLE IV*: 158.

Occurrences and Context The term *dr* occurs frequently in the military documents of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It appears fifty-five times during the reign of Sen I *ARI* I 3.1, I 3.2, I 3.3, I 34.7, I 39.2, I 40.11, I 41.11, I 43.4, I 44.6, I 46.3, I 52.7, I 53.2, I 53.4, I 73.3, I 74.7, I 75.9, I 77.3, I 80.4, I 97.3, I 98.14, I 100.7, I 101.3, I 106.3, I 106.8, I 109.6, I 117.7, I 118.7, I 112.1, I 126.6, I 130.13, I 131.10, I 132.10, I 133.3, I 133.8, I 135.4, I 136.3, I 138.2, I 139.2, I 144.4, I 153.2, I 161.11, I 163.13, I 165.3, I 167.10, I 193.14, I 201.5, I 212.16, I 214.13, I 217.9, I 221.1, I 226.9, I 227.7, I 231.6. fourteen times during the reign of Ramses II *ARI* II 141.4, II 200.2, II 289.7, II 291, II 294.13, II 297.10, II 300.2, II 311.13, II 341.6, II 403.13, II 411.3, II 444.14, II 439.2, and once in the documents of Ramses III *ARI* V 15.7.

The verb is exclusively used as an epithet of the king. He is called the "subduer *dr* of all lands" *ARI* I 13.1, I 39.2, I 41.11, *ARI* II 14.14, II 200.2, II 294.13. The rhetorical nature of this epithet makes difficult any association with actual military activities of the king. There is never a specific entity associated with the verb. Instead it is the totality of the king's power over all lands that is emphasized in this phrase.

Annihilation

The result of the analysis of terminology relating to the defeat of the enemy indicates that a number of terms were employed to describe the totality of destruction caused by the Egyptians. Terms such as *shim* and *sksh* are but a few that occur frequently in the documents. Other terms that are more comprehensive in their usage are likewise found in the texts and will be analyzed in this section.

sp

Lexicography. The finite verb *sp* is defined as "übrig bleiben" Erman and Grapow 1961: 144; "remain over, be left" (Faulkner 1962: 226); "to spare, to occur, to live on, continue, to remain, also *sp*, remainder, remnant, remains" (DLE III: 37).

Occurrences and Context. The term *sp* occurs in several of the inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty as a verb and in the form of a noun. It occurs once during the reign of Sen I in his recorded campaigns from Sia to Pa-Canaan on the outer face of the north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (ARI 198). The scribes of Ramses II employ it twice in several copies of the *Poem of the Battle of Kadesh* (ARI II 73-5, II 72-5). It appears four times during the reign of Merneptah, on the Amada Stela 2 (ARI IV 112, IV 113) in the Great Libyan War Inscription recorded at Karnak 1 (ARI IV 93 a-c), in the Kom el-Ahmar Stela 1 (ARI IV 213). The military inscriptions of Ramses III contain another five occurrences (ARI V 20,14; V 23,12; V 62,14; V 64,15; V 71,2).

In military documents of the XIXth Dynasty the totality of destroyed human life is expressed by the term *sp*. Often it is stated that "no remnant" survived the onslaught of the king (ARI II 73-5, II 72-5, ARI IV 112, IV 93). Ramses II is portrayed in the *Poem* as one who "slaughtered among them" (*hdb im.m*; ARI II.57,3-5, II 72-5). The utter and complete annihilation of the enemies of Egypt by the action of the king, is implied. However, there are other usages of this term that would indicate otherwise.

In several cases there is a "remnant" left over or spared. In the Karnak inscriptions of Sen I it states, "His Majesty slays *imj* them all at once, he leaves no heirs among them. Whoever escapes *sp* his hand is (but) a prisoner brought *im* to the Nile land" (ARI 198). The claim that the king "slays them all at once" is further established by the parallel phrase, "he leaves no heirs among them." But the

following clause states that there is a "remnant" *ipt*, that is brought back to Egypt. The Koin el-Ahmar Stela of Merenptah makes a similar claim that "every survivor *ipt nb* among them is carried off as a living [captive]" *ARI* IV 21.5. This semantic context becomes a dominant one in the records of Ramses III *ARI* V 20,14; V 23.12.

Thus, the Egyptians claim to have caused massive destruction among the inhabitants of foreign lands by 1. slaying them totally so that not one is left, or 2. slaying among them and taking everyone who is left alive back to Egypt. The result of these actions is the same according to the writers of these documents, for the enemy is totally subjugated so that no one is left in the land to rebel or cause conflict for Egypt. In the view of the writer, the land is left completely empty with indeed no remnant remaining.

tm

Lexicography The finite verb *tm* is defined as "zum nicht existierenden machen, jdm vernichten" *Hz* V 303f. "vollkommen sein, vollenden, vollendet sein, zum Ende sein, aufhören" *Linert and Grapow* 1961: 205; "negative verb: least, nonexistent, those who exist not" *DLE* IV, 85-86.

Occurrences and Context The term *tm* occurs throughout the XIXth Dynasty. During the reign of Seti I it appears three times, at Karnak 1, in his campaign record from Sile to Pa-Canaan 1, *ARI* I 1,8, and in the record of his campaign against the Hittites 2, *ARI* I 8, 118.13. It is employed twelve times during the reign of Ramses II: on the Beth Shan Stela Year 18.1 *ARI* II 1, 6, at Karnak 2, *ARI* II 155.9, II 606, at Luxor 1, *ARI* II 180, 3, the Theban stela V frag. from Lams 1, *ARI* II 241.2, II 298.3, the twin stelae from Abu Simbel 2, *ARI* II 317.3, II 317.4, the temple at Tell el-Retâba 1, *ARI* II 405.6, in a fragment from Oxyrhynchus 2, *ARI* II 406.5, obelisks I and VII from Tanis 2, *ARI* II 448.1, II 449.14. It appears only once on the Merenptah Stela *ARI* IV 19.17. It occurs six times during the reign of Ramses III *ARI* V 8.7; V 28.8; V 33.15; V 57.5; V 96.15.

In its contextual usage *tm* most frequently occurs as an accompanying clause to describe the final outcome of military activity. For example, for Seti's campaign against the Hittites, the writer records, "their chiefs are fallen to the sword, reduced to non-existence *tm*" *ARI* I 18.13). Here both clauses describe the action taken against one

subject, the "chiefs," *az*. Other examples of this may be cited *ARI* I 18,1 *ARI* II 160,6; II 180-3. In all of these usages either people, chiefs, or general lands are the subject of the verb. In only one case does it involve a city. In the final hymnic-poetic part of the Merenptah Stela the city of Yeno'am is said to have been "reduced to non-existence" *ARI* IV 19,5-7. The context of this phrase when viewed with the actions taken against other surrounding city states does not make certain whether the inhabitants of the city are meant or the city itself. The determinative "throw stick + hill-country"; Gardiner 1837-188 seems to indicate that the political entity or city-state, was meant and not the people inhabiting the city. In any case the concept of total destruction is maintained in all the texts of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties.

Enslavement/Tribute/Gift

An important aspect of Egyptian military activity involved the capturing and transportation of prisoners and their assorted goods back to Egypt (Helek 1980d). In Egyptian texts these activities were expressed in several ways. Both verbal and noun forms were employed in the description of the action of confiscation and the specific subject of plunder. Each of these will be discussed as they appear in Egyptian military documents and reliefs.

in

Lexicography The finite verb *in* is defined as "I herbeibringen a mit Objekt oder Person b Hier vortreten 8 c Sachen aller Art herbeibringen d Gaben e Orte 17 Länder 18 Gewässer 19 dem Gott vortreten, ihm herbeibringen. Meist als symbolische Handlung des Königs. II unwegbringen als Beute u a wegführen erbeuten, erobern 20" *Wb* I 90; "bringen, herbeibringen, holen, hinwegbringen" (Eрман and Grapow 1921: 14); "bring, fetch, carry off, bring away Faulkner 1962: 22, "to bring, to bring back, to fetch, to carry, to return, to obtain" (*DLE* I, 36).

Occurrences and Context The term *in* is common throughout the military inscriptions of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It appears twelve times during the reign of Sen I on the recorded campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan (1 *ARI* I 9,8 the campaign to Yeno'am and Lebanon (3 *ARI* I:14,10; I:14,10; I 14,15); in his cam-

paign against the Hittites 3, *KRI* I:19,6; I:19,14; I:19,16; on a Triumph Scene and Topographical List at Karnak 1, *KRI* I:30,7; in his great dedicatory inscription of Year 1 at Speos Artemidos (1, *KRI* I:41,3; the threefold inscription at Karnak 1, *KRI* I:65,10; on the stele of his Nubian War Year 4, at Amara West 2, *KRI* I:103,15; I:104,1. This term is frequent in the inscriptions of Ramses II where it is employed twenty-seven times in several copies of the *Promachia* the Battle of Kadesh 1, *KRI* II:29,6-10; in the *Bu-ahn* 1, *KRI* II:109,14-15; and in the *Renets* 2, *KRI* II:143,11; II:146,13. It occurs in the undated war scenes at Karnak 6, *KRI* II:153,1; II:154,12; II:161,8; II:163,1; II:167,4; II:172,11. It appears in reference to Dapur at Luxor and the Ramesseum 2, *KRI* II:173,1; II:175,5; as well as other locations in Luxor and the Ramesseum 2, *KRI* II:177,6; II:179,5. 1, occurs at Beq el-Wali 1, *KRI* II:38,8; Derr 1, *KRI* II:202,5; Amara West 3, *KRI* II:213,5; II:216,6; II:221,1; Luxor 3, *KRI* II:280,8; II:280,11; II:290,2; Abu Simbel 3, *KRI* II:314,4; II:317,3; II:317,4; Tell el-Maskhuta 1, *KRI* II:404,7; and Qaysma 1, *KRI* II:406,6. It appears frequently during the comparatively short reign of Merneptah seventeen times on the Amada Stela 3, *KRI* IV:19; IV:113; IV:115,3; on the Great Lahun War Inscription at Karnak 1, *KRI* IV:6,23; IV:6,24; IV:8,6; IV:8,6; IV:8,12; IV:9,1; IV:12; IV:12,1; IV:14; IV:15,6; on the Merneptah Stela 1, *KRI* IV:15,5; and on the Kom el-Ahmar Stela (3, *KRI* IV:22,1; IV:22,5; IV:22,11-12. The inscriptions of Ramses III contain twenty-four occurrences *KRI* V:180,1; V:181,4; V:191,3; V:194,6; V:22,2; V:23,2; V:23,2; V:23,8; V:31,3; V:33,2; V:41,11; V:61,14; V:66,14; V:68,10; V:70,8; V:71,13; V:84,4; V:86,3; V:86,4; V:88,11; V:93,6; V:99,8; V:110,7; V:111,18; V:111,21; V:115,5.

The most common contextual setting for the verb *mr* in Egyptian military records is the "carrying-off" of prisoners *tp-ah-er-ah-ah* *KRI* I:13,1; I:114,5; I:115,1; *KRI* II:161,8; II:163,1; II:177,6; cf. Vignad 1972:1982 and captives *haka* *KRI* IV:6,1; IV:22,1. This may relate the chiefs *ah* of the enemy *KRI* I:14,7; *KRI* II:14,3; II:154,2; II:159,3; their wives *hmt* *KRI* IV:6,1; IV:9,2; their children *ms* *KRI* IV:8,6; IV:9,6; IV:22,5; and brothers *br* *KRI* IV:8,6; IV:22,5. Often their undernames used phrase *hmn* are cut off and taken along to Egypt *KRI* IV:8,6; IV:22,1-2. These were at no fore-skins had their right hands cut off *KRI* IV:8,12. Other spoils were taken as well including weapons, copper swords, cattle, and goats.

In addition to things that the scribes claim were taken from en-

enemies *im* was used in a more general way to describe what happened to those who *h3 33* 'transgressed his boundaries' (*ARf* I 30 = *ARf* II 108.8) including the foreign lands and towns (*ARf* II 170.15) that were often named specifically: Dapur (*ARf* II 173 = II 73.3). As seen in *ARf* IV 19.4. It is possible that in these contexts the carrying off or plunder, spoils and prisoners was meant by the scribe or Dapur, see *h3*, 42-43.

From the semantic contexts of the verb *im* it is clear that the Egyptians intended to "carry off" much of the spoils and other emblems of their victory over various enemies. Not only do we have records of the types of things that were taken but detailed accounts of the number of each item that was confiscated.

Iconography The action of procuring spoils and captives as described in the inscriptions comes alive dramatically in the pictorial representations accompanying them. On the outer north face of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the campaigns of Seti I are depicted against the *Syria* and Pa-Canaan Yeno'am and Lebanon, Kadesh and Amarna, the Hittes and the Libyans (see Chapter Two 116-124). Following the victorious defeat of each enemy, captives are shown to be led away and presented before Amun. Breasted (*ARf* 339). In each case the king himself is depicted in a proportionally larger scale² leading or driving the captives before Amun. Porter, Moss, and Barney (1972: 74-7). It is pointed out that the scenes in each register lean progressively from the outer extreme corners of the building to the central doorway. Breasted (*ARf* 380-81). Gardner (1920: 90). Kitchen (1964: 48). Broadhurst (1989: 23). The final scenes depict Seti I smiting his captives before Amun and Khons.

In addition to captives, these final scenes depict the spoils of the battle taken back to Egypt. The third register of the campaign against the *Syria* depicts Seti I driving three rows of *Syria* captives from his chariot. Pritchard (1954: 106, Pl. 323). Those Syrians taken captive from Yeno'am and Lebanon are shown with the king leading both captives and specks to Amun while carrying two captives in his right arm. Porter, Moss, and Barney (1972: 55). Pritchard (1954: 107, Pl. 324). The types of spoils shown include pottery, vases, and other items being presented to the gods (Figure 8).

Gardner points out that "pharaoh is a good god, a superhuman. He is depicted as a giant and his adversaries as ants" (1920: 5). This is in stark contrast to the Mesopotamian visual representation of their kings who are often depicted on the same scale as the enemy. Frankfort (1948: 84).

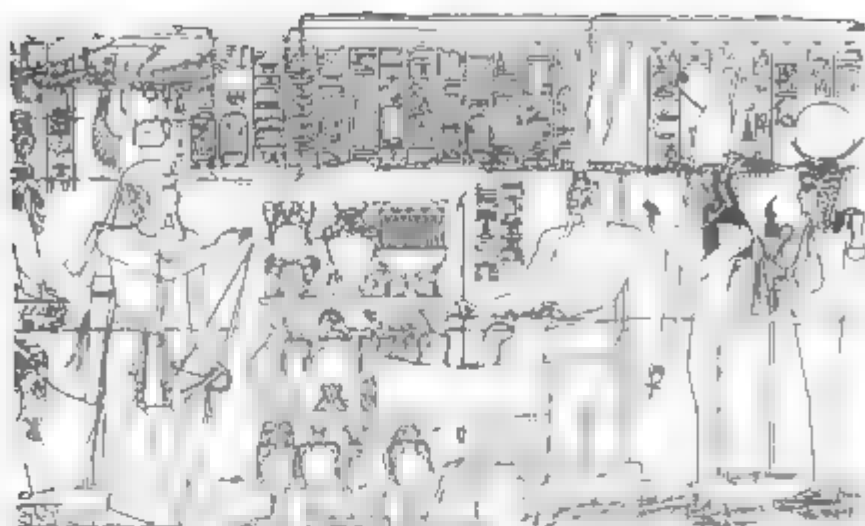


Figure B, Seti I presenting tribute from the *Sisu* Campaign
Epigraphic Survey 1986, Pl. 14

The reliefs of Ramses II display visual representations of the king leading away his captives and plunder. The king is depicted in battle with his Syrian enemies and forts recorded on three registers on the southern exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. In the tenth scene of registers II-III, he presents his captives to Amun, Ptah, Mss, and Ramay (19, 2-3). Two sets of minor war scenes at Luxor also follow a similar progression and captives are always presented to Amun (Re Gaballa 1976: 108-13; Porter, Moss, and Ramsey 1972: 333-34). Other temples record these presentations as well: Ramessesum, Beit el-Wan, Derr, and Abu Simbel. The most spectacular battle is against the city of Kadesh on the Orontes in Year 5 and it is recorded on numerous temples: Luxor, Ramessesum [2], Abu Simbel, Abydos, and Karnak, the latter two being poorly preserved (Gaballa 1971: 1, 7). Ramses II claimed victory in this battle but failed to capture the city. Nevertheless, he is depicted on reliefs at Abu Simbel and Karnak as leading three rows of bound Hittite prisoners who are then presented by the king to the Theban Triad, Amun, Mut, and Khons (Karnak, S. Wall, Hypostyle Hall).

The reliefs on the "Cour de la cachette" at Karnak once attributed to Ramses II have now been redated to Merneptah (Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986; 1990; Ramsey 1992; 1995; see Chapter Three, 199-201). In these scenes captives from both Canaan and *Sisu* are

depicted Epigraphic Survey 198b Pl. 2. The inhabitants of Še are shown being led before the king's chariot bound and driven back to Egypt Givón 1971: 93-94 Doc. 21 Pl. VIII. Upon their arrival in Egypt the scene shows that they are presented before Amun.

ma

Lexicography The noun *ma* is defined as 'E herbeigebrachte Gaben, Lieferungen 12 oft im Sinne von Abgaben, Einbringungen 13, Geschenk 14 II Produkte eines Landes. der Bote 19' Hb I: 91. 'Gaben, Abgaben, Geschenk' Erman and Grapow 1923: 14, 'produce of region, tribute of subject lands, gifts from palace' Faulkner 1962: 22, 'tribute, deliveries, gifts, contribution, impost, produce' DIE I: 37.

The definition of *ma* continues to be widely debated. The traditional translation of 'tribute' was first challenged by Gardiner (1947: 127*, 1946: 1) who translated it as 'gifts'. Helck spoke more cautiously of "angebliche Tribut" (1971: 166), which he surmised were gifts. However, in his article on 'Angaben und Steuer' in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* Helck (1970b) he also perceived another possible meaning, that of 'Hauseinsamlerungen' which lay parallel to the terms for taxes. Lorton (1974a: 104) maintains that this was a term employed generally to describe all types of wares. A new approach is taken by M. Laverant (1973: 192-193), who compared the lists of *ma* with the Amarna letters, approaching the subject from Polanyi's interpretive model of reciprocity and redistribution.¹ He argues that the Amarna texts that document the single movement of goods as an exchange of gifts "with no gain but rather a show of generosity" must be equated with the monumental inscriptions of Thutmose III who records these same transactions as 'tribute' in the sense of something gained from persons of different rank. The difference is in the perspective taken of exchanged goods. The king portrays the exchange as something that is given out of force, not a gift among equals.

Müller Wollermann (1981) supports the view that *ma* must be understood simply as gifts and that, under no circumstances should it be taken as 'tribute'.

¹ Reciprocity, as defined by Polanyi, is a system of exchange relationships between symmetrically organized elements of a society while redistribution occurs in a system where goods flow to a central place from which they are distributed (cf. Gledhill and Larsen 1982: 197-209).

Bierberg (1984) followed a similar line of thought and interpreted *mw* to be specific contributions by others to the king's privy purse. Laverani criticized this view as "too faithful with the Egyptian ideology [as if it were] coincident with reality" and the conclusions "absolutely minimizing and misleading" in his more extensive monograph entitled *Prestige and Interest* (1990: 207 note 13). However, Bierberg offers a much more detailed discussion of the texts and their implications than does Laverani. The presupposition of Laverani that the king by nature grossly distorts the reality of what occurs in *mw* is unfortunate. As Bierberg has demonstrated, there are numerous contexts in which *mw* occurs. Ideology and kingship do play a major role but the context of these records must be addressed (cf. Bouris 1984). In the military documents *mw* seems to occur at the conclusion, and as Bierberg suggests it may be "more a sign of return to normal relations at the end of a war" (Bierberg 1984b: 160) than tribute taken as a result of war. The weight of the evidence seems to indicate that *mw* must be considered in a wider framework than previously thought. It must not be confused with terms like *hkr* and *kf* that signify the true spoils "taken" (*mw*) in battle.

Occurrences and Context The term *mw* is common in the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It occurs fifteen times during the reign of Seti I in his campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan recorded at Karnak 2 *ARI* I 12,2; I 13,4; his campaign to Yenoam and Lebanon 2 *ARI* I 17,8; I 18,12; against the Hittites 2 *ARI* I 56,1; I 56,3; against the Libyans 2 *ARI* I 23,3; I 23,6; I 23,6; in two triumph scenes at Karnak 4 *ARI* I 26,10; I 26,12; I 26,13; I 30,11; on the Temple of Ptah at Karnak *ARI* I 4,3; and on the Qase-Ibrim rock stela 1 *ARI* I 9B,16. It is found another twenty-five times in the inscriptions of Ramses II in the Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh 8 *ARI* II 34,13; II 34,13; II 34,15; II 34,16; II 34,12; II 34,14; II 34,10; II 34,9; in the undated war scenes at Karnak 6 *ARI* II 154,10; II 154,12; II 156,8; II 162,12; II 167,4; II 167,7; and in the undated war scenes at Luxor 1 *ARI* II 171,6. It also occurs on rhetorical stelae found at Tanis 3 *ARI* II 290,4; II 294,11; II 298,3; Gebel Shaluf 2 *ARI* II 302,1; II 304,8; Abu Simbel 4 *ARI* II 317,15; II 317,16; II 318,7; II 318,8; and on Obelisk VIII from Tans 1 *ARI* II 414,13. No mention is made of *mw* in the records of Merneptah. The term occurs again ten times during the reign of Ramses III *ARI* V 9,3; V 9,4; V 27,6; V 49,8; V 65,14; V 68,10; V 93,4; V 97,3; V 97,9; V 105,4.

At the conclusions of his recorded campaigns from Nile to Pa-Canaan, Yeno-am and Lebanon, the Hittes, and the Libyans, Sen I presents the *mn* to Amun-Re. Listed are stereotypical goods that include silver, gold, real lapis-lazuli, and prisoners (ARI I 10, 2; 11, 8; 113, 9; 123, 3). This is followed by a response from Amun-Re (ARI I 114) of prisoners (ARI I 15, 2). Indeed, as Bleiberg (1984: 156-157) indicates, the gods themselves promise the *mn* to the king (ARI I 26, 2; 130, 11). But in the military inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty, the *mn* is always presented by the king to Amun-Re. It is not accepted by the king himself (contra Bleiberg 1984b: 158). This is most evident in the reign of Ramses II, when in all inscriptions *mn* is presented directly to Amun-Re and at times to other gods as well (ARI II 145, 12). Bleiberg (1984b) has demonstrated that these gifts are part of yearly gifts that were presented directly to the king. According to the military texts under discussion, the king presents the *mn*, accompanied by captives, to the gods. It is uncertain, therefore, whether it is the king who benefits directly in the temple economy.

h3k (Verb)

Lexicography. The finite verb *h3k* is defined as "I. Gewohnheitlich in Kriege erbeuten, gefangen nehmen a. Personen gefangen nehmen 14. die Weiber der Feinde erbeuten 15, b. Heiden 16, Plünder 17, Zute 18. Schiffe 19. erbeuten, c. Städte und Länder erobern." Hb III: 32. "plunder, capture towns, carry off, apoves." Faulkner: 96, 63. "to capture, to plunder, to seize, to make prisoner, to take captive" (DLE II: 97).

Occurrences and Context. The term *h3k* is common throughout the late New Kingdom military documents of Egypt. It is employed six times in the inscriptions of Sen I on the northern face of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak 1 (ARI I 7, 2) on the Stela of Year 1 from Karnak 1, (ARI I 4, 1) and on the Amara West and Sin Stela describing the Nubian War, Year 8: 2 (ARI I 113, 12; 4 (ARI I 104, 3). It occurs twenty-seven times in the inscriptions of Ramses II: in two copies of the *Relief* of the Battle of Kadesh 1 (ARI II 143, 2) at Karnak in the undated war scenes 1 (ARI II 167, 4) at Luxor in the undated Syrian War scenes 2 (ARI II 174, 3, 174, 6) in the un-

In another article Bleiberg (1988) maintains that the *mn* was destined for the king's private use and that *mn* consisted of precious treasures for the temple economy. A convincing argument is made from the texts analyzed in this study.

dated accounts of the attack on the fort of *sn* 1, *ARI* II 176.3 and *Mt* 1 *ARI* II 176.8 at Abydos where the king views the Nubian tribute 1, *ARI* II 193.7 at Derr among the Syrian² war scenes in the first hall 3 *ARI* II 202,15, 202,16; 203,1; at Amarah West (1, *ARI* II 222, 5), on steat at Tanis 1, *ARI* II 289,11, II 289,16; II 300.4; II 294,11, II 296,7, II 293.5, II 300.2 Gebel Shaduf 1 *ARI* II 303.6; Tell er-Ratâba 1 *ARI* II 304.4 Abu Simbel 1 *ARI* II 321.5 on obelisks at Tanis 5, *ARI* II 404.5, II 409.1, II 409,12, II 409.4, II 414.2 on a statue from Tanis 1 *ARI* II 446,4; at Birsas 1 *ARI* II 490,7; and on a stele from El Alamem 1 *ARI* II 471.7. It appears three times in the military decrements of Merenptah at Kartak in his Libyan War Inscription 1, *ARI* IV 9.7, or the Merenptah Stele 1, *ARI* IV 19.5 and in the Kom el-Ahmar Stele 1 *ARI* IV 22.1. It appears twenty-eight times throughout the inscriptions of Ramses III *ARI* V 9.15, V 19.6, V 21.10, V 21,14, V 23,12, V 23,13, V 25,14, V 29.8, V 34.6, V 37.1, V 37,13, V 50,11, V 51.5, V 57,13, V 58.9, V 80.1, V 80.3, V 81.9, V 81.3, V 86,1, V 90,14, V 104.5, V 105,10, V 106,11, V 107.4, V 107.9.

The contextual setting of the verb *hsk* is varied. During the XIXth Dynasty it often describes the action of the king in "capturing" various enemies *Sin* *ARI* I 7.2, *ARI* II 300.2, II 304.14, *chers* *ARI* II 143.16, the possessions of enemies *ARI* IV 9.7 or the foreign lands in general *ARI* II 289,11, II 289,16). In one case, it points to the "plundering" of an entire region in the Merenptah Stele (Canaan, *ARI* IV 19.3). The specifics of this action may be inferred from the subsequent description of actions taken against city-state and socioethnic entities in Canaan (e., Ashkelon, Gezer, Yenoam, and Israel). However, the verb *hsk* in its own context implies little more than "plundering" or "capturing" (cf. Hoffmeier 1989).

During the reign of Ramses III *hsk* appears in a number of additional contexts. The defeated enemies refer to the king of Egypt as the one who "plundered" the countries (*ARI* V 9.15). Now those "taken captive" are the various enemies of Egypt themselves *ARI* V 21.4, V 35.1, as well as the Asians *ARI* V 37.10, and the Meshwesh (*ARI* V.57.13).

The documents of Ramses III refer in a geographical and general sense to the "plundering of every land" *ARI* V 25.14 of the "plains and the hill countries" *ARI* V 29.8, V 80.1, the "lands of the Nine Bows" *ARI* V 58.9 and the "lands of the Asians" *ARI* V 80.13. In one instance the specific "plundering of towns *dm*" is claimed *ARI*

V.80.1 In a number of cases, lists of the items captured and taken as booty or "plunder" are also listed. In most cases, however, the destruction of material culture and towns, villages or forts is not implied by *hjk*. Instead, it seems to be the interest of the Egyptians to preserve the goods of their defeated enemies which are then brought back as *hjk(w)* noun, see 73.14 and 8f to be redistributed in the palace and temple economies throughout the empire.

hjk(w) and *hjk(t)* (Noun)

Lexicography The nouns *hjk(w)* and *hjk(t)* are defined as "die Kriegsbute, bes. auch von Kriegsgefangenen" *Äb* III 34 "plunder" Faulkner 1962:163 "captives, plunder, spoil, captive, booty, spoils, things carried off" (*DLE* II: 97).

Occurrences and Context The term *hjk(w)* is employed four times in the inscriptions of Seti I in his campaign from Sine to Pa-Canaan recorded at Karnak 2, *ARI* I:10.6, I:11.4 in the Second Beta-Shan Stela 1, *ARI* I:16.3c and on the Stela of Year 1 at the Temple of Ptah at Karnak 1, *ARI* I:41.4. In the reign of Ramses II, it occurs three times in the *Pem* of the Battle of Kadesh, *ARI* II:1.9; II:36.7-8 and on the stela of Year 2 at Aswan 1, *ARI* II:344.15. It appears three times in the Great Libyan War inscription of Merenptah at Karnak, *ARI* IV:6.11, IV:8.2, IV:9.4 and once on his Kom el-Altmar Stela, *ARI* IV:22. The inscriptions of Ramses III contain twelve references to *hjk(w)*, *ARI* V:1.13, V:26.13, V:41.11, V:42.7, V:46.14, V:53.2, V:71.13, V:76.9, V:80.7, V:85.12, V:105.4, V:115.5.

In earlier references of the XVIIIth Dynasty, it appears that "plunder" was the regular successor to "fighting" (Lorton 1974b:56). Most often, this plunder consisted of human captives. There is also some evidence that these plundered persons were taken to the king who redistributed them as rewards (Lorton 1974b:57). In its most common contextual setting, *hjk(w)* refers to human captives also during the period under investigation in this study, *ARI* I:16.3, I:41.4, *ARI* II:1.9; II:36.7-8; *ARI* IV:6.11, IV:8.2; IV:22.1) who are taken from foreign enemies. It also has a more general meaning of "plunder" (*ARI* I:10.6, I:11.4). Among this "plunder" or "spoils" were weapons like copper swords, *ARI* IV:9.4. During the reign of Ramses III, it is said that storage rooms were filled with the *hjk(w)*, *ARI* V:26.13. It is this term for plunder or spoils that is often referred to as being "carried off" *mh* from the enemy lands.

Iconography After the Nubian wars of Ramses II two files of dignitaries are shown bearing Nubian tributes of gold rings, gold cast skins, chairs, tusks, fans, griffes, leopards, cattle, etc. (Grabara 1976: 112). The reliefs of Seti I and Ramses II also depict the spoils and prisoners that result from his campaigns in the southern Levant and Africa (see Figure 8).

In the fourth scene of registers II-III, Ramses II presents his captives to Amun (Porter, Moss, and Burney 1972: 57). The presentation of captives to Amun or the Theban Triad is repeated in several other registers recording his confrontations with the Syrians, known as his "undated war scenes at Karnak": *ARI* II:152 (Porter, Moss, and Burney 1972: 57-59). Two sets of minor war scenes at Lakor also follow a similar progression and captives are repeatedly presented to Amun-Re (Graballa 1976: 108-113; Porter, Moss, and Burney 1972: 333-336).

kf

Lexicography The finite verb *kf* is defined as "1. Beute machen im Kriege, etc. erbeuten 2. auch in der Verbindung: Kriegsgewogene Leute 6. *kf* V. 121, 'make captures, make requisition' Faulkner 1962: 283, "to plunder, to take captive, to grasp" *DLE* IV: 30.

Occurrences and Context The term *kf* is employed twice in the military documents of the XIXth Dynasty, once in Amara West in the record of Seti I's war in Nubia (Year 8? verb, *ARI* I:102-11) and in undated war scenes during the reign of Ramses II at Karnak (see *ARI* II:80-13). It occurs another four times in the inscriptions of Ramses III (*ARI* V:32-12; V:44-9; V:60-7; V:112-16).

The verbal usage of *kf* in the text of Seti I at Amara West indicates the king who "has fought and captured *kf* in every foreign land" (*ARI* I:102-10). The text does not indicate what was captured or plundered in this case. The same holds true for Ramses II's text at Karnak where the king is simply said to be "ascending in booty *kf*" (*ARI* II:80-13). The contextual setting of these passages is intertwined with rich rhetoric and may be viewed as stereotypical phrases that describe the king's ability to "plunder" his enemies.

From its contextual setting, it is possible to conclude that a variety of terms were used to describe the military action of taking spoils and prisoners. The verb *m* indicates the "carrying off" of various goods and people. These appear to be spoil *bsk* (noun) rather than trib-

ure or gifts *mn*. *Inu* is to be considered a separate activity from plunder or spoil *lo*. It was part of a yearly gift-giving activity to Egypt. The rare occurrence of *kf* precludes any definite designation, but is part of the rhetoric associated with the king in these texts and most likely was part of the *hjkwt* Lorton 1974b: 63. These terms indicate the importance of taking spoils which were then used for the palace or temple economy Bleiberg 1984b; 1988.

Military Activity Against Crops/Orchards/Trees

Egyptian military records indicate that while action was taken against foreign semi-autonomous village and city-state and larger political entities, it was also applied against the life-subsistence systems of those attacked. Analysis demonstrates that grain, pasture and orchards were destroyed or confiscated by the Egyptians. This type of military activity is known as early as the 13th Dynasty where the Autobiography of Wen states: "The army returned safely, it had cut down its figs, its vines" (M. Lichtheim 1973: 20).

During the New Kingdom the records of Thutmose III's campaign to Syria-Palestine read, "Now his majesty destroyed (*sk*) the town of Arilua with its grain *it*. All its fruit trees were cut down (*sd*). Fifth Campaign; *Urk* IV:687,5-7; cf. Wilson 1969a: 239. The same text alludes "Arrival at the town of Kadesh. Destroying it *sk*. Felling (*Fd*) its trees (*mn*), cutting down (*sd*) its grain (*it*)" (Sixth Campaign; *Urk* IV:689,7-10; cf. Wilson 1969a: 239). In the final campaign, Year 42, a similar statement is made for the city of Tunip. "Arrival at Tunip. Destroying *sk* the town. Cutting down *sd* its grain *it* and felling *Fd* its trees *mn*" (*Urk* IV:723,13-724,1; cf. Wilson 1969a: 241). These texts explicitly state that both "grain" *it* and "trees" *mn* are "destroyed" *sk* "cut down" *sd* and "felled" *Fd*. This is an action that is largely destructive. The destruction of

¹⁰ The destruction of grain and trees in the texts of Thutmose III must be differentiated from the collection of *mn* mentioned in these same documents. A different term is used, namely *mn*, "harvest-harvest-tax" *Urk* III:151-152 for the collection of *mn*. The nature of *mn* and how it functioned in the Egyptian economy was first discussed by Gardiner (1917: 490) who viewed it as gifts. Heik (1983: 166) spoke of "agricultural tribute" which he surmised were gifts. Malier-Wolfermann (1983) but later perceived another possible meaning as "Handelswarenlieferungen" or trade goods which are parallel to the terms for taxes. Bleiberg (1983a) argued that *mn* consisted of specific contributions to the king's private purse. Although M. Lichtheim (1981) has viewed his view as "too faithful with the Egyptian ideology, as if it were coincident with reality" and the conclusions "absolutely minimizing and misreading

grain and trees is, therefore, well attested in the Asiatic campaigns of Thutmose III against city-states while the receiving of harvest (*smc*), took place at other sites (Hasel 1994: 36 note 13). Because of their rhetorical and somewhat abstract nature the verb *fk* and the clauses, *n prj* 'his seed is not' and *fdq r'ym mnt*, 'their root is cut off,' warrant further investigation.

fk

Lexicography. The intransitive verb *fk* is defined as "Ia wüßte sein, brach liegen (vom Land 14, vom Acker 15)" (Hb I: 579-580); "be empty, be wasted through oppression" Faulkner 1962: 60; "to desolate, to waste" DLF I: 49. According to the *Wörterbuch* there are fourteen cases where this term refers to the emptiness of the land and fifteen cases where it refers to the emptiness from the harvest (Hb I: 579). Thus, there is a lexical connection made between the emptiness of the land from its harvest.

Occurrences and Context. The term *fk* occurs only once in the military inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty in the Merneptah Stela.¹⁷ It is employed an additional six times in the records of Ramesses III (ARI V 15.3, V 22.5, V 24.10, V 47.2, V 48.7-8, V 83.14).

The one use of the term *fk* in the Merneptah Stela is in the widely debated phrase in the final hymnic-poetic part, 'Israel is laid waste (*fk*) as seed (*prj*) is not' (ARI IV 147). The verb *fk* in the first clause, 'Israel is laid waste (*fk*)', provides support to the translation of *prj* as 'grain'. Here in a stative form it appears that *fk* is describing an action against the fields of the people of Israel. The people are portrayed in a state of having been laid waste. Thus the two phrases, "Israel is laid waste (*fk*); its grain (*prj*) is not," are describing similar events, the second clause in epexegetical relationship to the first. The scribe in effect is describing the desolation of Israel's grain, continuing

1990: 257 note 3. Bleiberg offers a much more detailed discussion of the texts and their implications.

It is interesting that there is no mention of *grain coming as tribute* from these towns that had their grain destroyed. Perhaps it was because tribute was forthcoming that the Egyptians decided to attack these cities. On the other hand, it may have simply been that the food supply was destroyed by the Egyptians rather than gathered for temple or palace economy for this practice, see Bleiberg 1994a: 988. In either case the scribe is consistent in his description of events and does not seem to confuse the destruction of grain with the question of tribute.

The actual reading here is *fk* a form that should probably be emended to *fk* (Fecht 1983: 113; Yurco 1986: 190 note 3) a stative.

eating that food supply/subsistence of this socioethnic group is no longer in existence. In other words, 'its seed is not' reflects what is meant by 'Israel is *ḥt*'. If the term *ḥt* is to be understood as he 'laying waste of land or harvest' as lexicographers suggest (Hb I 179), it reinforces the interpretation of *prt* as 'grain' (cf. Kahpeny-Heckel 1985: A15 from 1991; Hasel 1994). The clauses refer to the same military action taken against Israel in the destruction of its 'grain'.

During the reign of Ramses III *ḥt* is used again to describe the laying waste of the land during the First Libyan War (ARI V 22). In another inscription the enemy describes itself in a long discourse as being *ḥt*, and some time later exclaims, 'Our seed *prt* is not' (ARI V 24: 0-4). Later, in the Great Inscription of Year 11 it is stated 'Their cities are made ashes, wasted and desolated *ḥt* their seed is not' (Breasted ARF IV 258; ARI V 60: 7-8). In this case the Meshwesh are actively inflicting destruction upon Tebenu. Thus, *ḥt* is associated with a *prt* three times. In other cases *t* occurs in the context of the *and*. This is significant for the contextual and semantic meaning of *ḥt* as it applies to the military action against the socioethnic entity of Israel (see *prt*, 78-80).

prt

Lexicography Two main meanings are provided for the noun *prt*. The first definition includes: 'A. Frucht einer Pflanze, 1. Früchtes Baumes, 2. Besondere Feldfrucht 11. Getreide 12. Saatkorn 13.' The second meaning is 'B. Same = Nachkommenschaft 1. Allgemein Nachkommen, Kinder 1. Hb I 130-131. "Same, Nachkommenschaft 2. Frucht Korn" Jaman and Grapow 192-194. "fruit seed in the sense of offspring, posterity" Faulkner 1962: 91; "seed" (DLE I: 177).

In this context where *prt* means grain (German: Korn) and seed for planting (German: Saatkorn) three determinatives are used either separately or conjunctively: 1. the "prow" (Gardiner 1957: 517, U13, although, not exclusively (Hb I 131); 2. the "grain" determinative (Gardiner 1957: 483, M35) and 3. the "grain of sand" determinative (Gardiner 1957: 490, N33, cf. Hb I 136). Helck points out that while *prt* can refer to seed for planting, it generally may be understood as grain (Korn) (Helck 1984a: 32, cf. Petrie 1898; Janssen 1961: 82). It is important to observe that there exists no specific hieroglyph for seed (for planting) (Helck 1984a: 321-322). In other cases *prt* may refer to seeds of various types of spices and seasonings when associated with

certain colors (Heck 1976a: 394-395). A second meaning occurs in some contexts where the noun *prt* must be understood as descendants or offspring. The contextual usage is the clear determinant for this extended meaning. *Prt* in this context is often accompanied by two determinatives either separately or conjunctively: 1) the determinative of the phallus with liquid issuing from it (Gardiner 1957: 456, D53, W3 I: 530-531); although this is not always indicative, cf. W3 I: 53, and 2) the "gram of sand" determinative (Gardiner 1957: 490, N33 cf. W3 I: 531).

Occurrences and Context The term *prt* occurs only once in the military descriptions of Thutmose III (Ck IV 687,1) twice in those of Sen I (ARI I:18,12; VII:67) and once by Merenptah (ARI IV 19,7). It occurs twelve times in varying contexts during the reign of Ramesses III (ARI V:14,1; V:21,2; V:20,6; V:21,14; V:24,14; V:30,8; V:40,15; V:59,7; V:60,7-8; V:65,8; V:86,13; V:119,2).

A major semantic domain of meaning pertains to the usage of *prt* in regard to plants and trees. The descriptions of Thutmose III state: "Now [his majesty] found the entire [land of] Djahi with their orchards filled with their fruit *prt*." (Wilson 1963a: 240, Ck IV 687,10). Here *prt* is interpreted as fruit and appears with the "plow" determinative.

In the XIXth Dynasty texts, the term appears only three times twice with the "gram of sand" but without the "plow" determinative (ARI I:115,2; IV:19,7). In the campaign against the Hittites, in the reign of Seti I the writer states: "He lets go² seed as he wishes, in this despicable land of Hatti, their chiefs are fallen to his sword, reduced to non-existence" (ARI I:18,12). The phrase *uth / prt* is difficult to translate in this context. Kitchen 1963a: 15 translates, "He lets go² seed." But he remains uncertain. It might also be possible to translate "He omits seed" (DLE I:162). The idea of negation is common with this verb³ and may indicate that seed is destroyed in this context. The question as to what kind of seed is destroyed in this case cannot be clearly determined.

During the reign of Merenptah, the term *prt* appears in the well-known Merenptah Stela in the phrase "Israel is laid waste: its seed is not." The earliest translations of the Merenptah Stela by Spiegelberg

² Other meanings include "to stop" (TR 10052 [Pl. 27] 3,17); "to cease" (CS IV8; DLE I:162).

³ In this context *prt* may be referring to the chiefs of Hatti who appear in this description.

rendered *prt* 'Frucht' 1896: 23, 1908: 404 and "grain" according to Breasted 1897: 66. Breasted later correctly pointed out Breasted (*ARE*: 3.258) that this phrase in its context with Israel could not mean the slaying of male children in Egypt. Surprisingly, later scholars cited Breasted without reference to his major arguments, assuming that this was merely a conventional phrase to denote a defeated people and took *prt* to mean descendants/offspring (Liman 1923: 346; Stem 1982: 158; Fecht 1983: 26; Homang 1983: 232; Yaron 1985; P. R. Davies 1992). Yet, other scholars continued to translate *prt* as grain or *vaagut* (Kaplezy-Heckel 1985; Ahlstrom 1991). This interpretation is supported by the preceding verb *jk* 'to lay waste' which also refers to the emptiness from the harvest (*jk* I: 171). Thus the couplet "Israel is laid waste *jk* its grain *prt* is not" is a synonymous parallelism that describes the desolation of Israel's grain, confirming that Israel's food supply/substance is no longer in existence.

The wider contextual domain of the phrase *n prt f* can be found in the descriptions of Ramses III. Here the term occurs twelve times. In six of these occurrences *prt* appears in the clause *n prt f* (*ARI* V:20,2, V:21,14; V:24,14; V:40,15; V:60,7-8; V:65,8). It is significant that in each of these examples *prt* has the "plow" determinative. This determinative may give support to the translation "grain" in this particular clause.² In addition, several of the texts show that the destruction of *prt*

For the implications on the identification of Israel as a rural, sedentary group of agriculturalists without its own city-state support system, see Hasel 1994: 53-54 and Chapter Three, 201-204.

In other contexts *prt* accompanied with the "plow" determinative may also indicate the enemy of the Egyptians that may be metaphorically described as magnificent seed or grain (cf. Grimal 1986: 100; 131 note 174, 665). In the remaining six occurrences during the reign of Ramses III *prt* is not employed in the clause *n prt f* (*ARI* V:14,5; V:20,6; V:36,8; V:49,7; V:86,13; V:91,1) and may be often interpreted in these contexts as referring to the enemy soldiers who are being attacked by the Egyptians.³ His arm was and now their seed (*ARI* V:14,5). This is most likely referring to the enemy who are in the same context described as lying prostrate before the king's horses, and to the plow (Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 1-2). For thou hast made our seed to turn back when fighting and advance themselves against Egypt forever" (*ARI* V:20,6; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 19) describing the "fallen ones from Libya" 4. "Thy strong arm is that which is before me, overhrowing the seed" (*ARI* V:36,8; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 47). The preceding phrase states, "My strong arm was overthrown (those) who exalt themselves: the Peleset, the Denyen, and the Shekesh." It says the warrior won the seed in parallel with the overhrowing of Egypt's enemy 5. He chose a long line whom he had created: the seed was a sown from his body: a brave youth, a noble one" (*ARI* V:49,7; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 7). This is a description where descendants/offspring are meant and are celebrated by the plow's determinative. Thou makest our seed to turn back by fighting in the battle etc. (*ARI* V:86,13; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 135). *B* is reconstructed

took place by means of conflagration. In the record of the First Libyan War the enemy cries out: "The fire has penetrated us, our seed *prt* is not." Breasted *ARE* 4:24, *KRI* V:24:13-14. One might expect the slaying of descendants or offspring to be accomplished by the sword and not the flame. However, here fire and its flame are used to describe the destruction of *prt* "grain." Fires and its flames are also used to destroy the boats of the invading "Sea Peoples" with their subsistence supplies. Although one might argue that in these occurrences there is a clear association with fire and the destruction of seed, it is also possible to view the fire metaphorically as the fury of the advancing army. Again it is informative to note the contrast in the inscriptions of Thutmose III where the *am* "tribute" is differentiated from the destroyed "grain." Also in these texts of Ramesses III a strong sense is given of the type of destruction which befalls the *prt*.

In other contexts there is a close parallel between the "land" and the negation of *prt*. The text of the First Libyan War states, "I and how *dh* the land (*th*) of Temeh, their seed *prt* is not." *ARE* 4:33, *KRI* V:20:2. Here the laying low of the land is summed up by the epexegetical clause "their seed is not." Again the record of the Second Libyan War states, "The land of the Meshwesh is desolate, *th* at one time the Libyans and Sepeh are destroyed, *skh*, their seed *prt* is not." Breasted *ARE* 4:55, *KRI* V:65:7-8. These might both be examples of how the fields or land in which a people lived were destroyed by removing their means of subsistence.

10.46.10.10.10. and again is a description of the captives of Egypt in reference to themselves: "He is like Montu, a mighty bull when he rages, slaying the lands of the Amavus, desolating *th* their seed, and making the strong turn back, lifting their faces." *ARE* 1:15. Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 145. In this case the desolating of seed may be a reference back to the "slaying of lands." This phrase may indeed refer to *prt* as "grain." However the context does not make this certain.

There are no iconographic or textual sources currently known that depict the use of fire or conflagration as an Egyptian military tactic against cities or population groups (see 86). There are numerous examples of the use of sword warfare, archery, and cavalry in open field combat. Epigraphic Survey 1989: Pl. 23. Youssef Leclaire, *Maison* 3. Pl. XXII. Wresniński 1957: 1138. *MD* II Pl. 98. Note the repeated depiction of the king ritually smiting his enemies with a sickle sword or mace (E. S. Hall 1986: Figs. 45, 46, 50, 52, 53, 56, 64, 65, 70).

In another context Ramesses III is described as "entering among them like a falcon springing small birds, so that they are beaten into heaps in two places like the mowing down of grain [s]." *KRI* V:1,3,11. Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 141. Here his destruction of desert animals is described metaphorically with the mowing down of grain.

mnt

Lexicography The noun *mnt* is defined as "1 Wurzel einer Pflanze 2 auch von bestimmter Pflanzen in offizieller Verwendung 3. *jdj* *tp* *sn mnt* ihre Wurzel ausreissen — die Feinde austreiben 5 D 20" Wb II 77 "Wurzel" Fritzsche and Grapow 1921 64, "root" Faulkner 1962 108; "root" (DLE 1: 218

Occurrences and Context This noun occurs only four times in the inscriptions of Ramses III in the record of the First Libyan War at Medinet Habu (1, *KRI* V 15,2); in the First Libyan War - Great Inscription, Year 5 (1, *KRI* V 24, 3-6); in the Second Libyan War - Great Inscription, Year 11 (1, *KRI* V 13,1) and in a topographical list at Medinet Habu (1, *KRI* V 93,11).

In two cases *mnt* is found in the context of the phrase *tdj* *tp* *sn mnt*, "their root is cut off." In this context "Their root was cut off they are not, in a single case" (*KRI* V 15,2; V 24, 3-6) implies the destruction of plants, as is evident from another example which states, "... was a mighty torch hurling flame from the heavens to search out their seeds, to devastate their [root] *mnt* which was still in their land" *KRI* V 63. Here it appears that it is the explicit purpose of the Egyptians to "devastate" or "plunder" *tp* the root that exists in enemy lands and by extension their harvest. In another vivid description the gods are said to "cause them to see thy majesty like the sky warms it is concealed and pregnant with tempest so that it has removed the trees *mnt* from their roots *mnt*." *KRI* V 13,11. Thus, trees (*mnt*) are also the object of destruction.

Aside from the specific terms *tp*, *tp* *mnt* and *mnt*, destruction of grain is found in the wider context of the Merenptah Stela. In the concluding lines previous to the hymnic portion and concerning Syria-Palestine appears "He who plows his harvest will eat it" *KRI* IV 18, 5 Wilson 1960b: 3-8. This phrase is in the contextual setting of a longer description of the land at peace. It would imply that in war times the conqueror will not allow him who plows to eat the harvest, to eat his grain, because the conqueror will have destroyed it or confiscated it for his own use. This is made clear earlier in the text where it states in the description of the Libyan war: "the grain (*tp*) of his supplies was plundered and he had no water in the skin to keep him alive" *KRI* IV 14,10. In the Kom el-Mimar Stela it says that the king is one who "puts Libya under the might of his terror" — making their camps into wastes of the Red Land, taking — every herb that came forth from their fields. No field grew, to keep alive . . ." (*KRI*

IV 20.7-8; Breasted *ARE* 3.254. The condition of unyielding fields may have been caused by the military activity of the Egyptians. However, the fragmentary nature of this text makes this conclusion only tentative.

A later Egyptian military campaign record of Piankhy from 720 B.C. gives evidence for the same military practice. An enemy exclaims, "You can yet double the punishment for me, but protect the grain—do not cut off the plant to its roots!" Campaign against Libyans. Kausen 1985: 583.

The weight of evidence seems to suggest that the destruction and/or confiscation of grain and fields was perceived by the writers to be a widespread military tactic of the Egyptians throughout the New Kingdom and later. The texts indicate two types of destruction. One method was the cutting down of grain which may then later be used for subsistence for troops or taken back as "tribute" to Egypt. The second method was the burning down of fields and villages where grain was cultivated and stored.

Iconography

There are several cases in the late New Kingdom where the cutting down of trees and the destruction of grain²¹ are portrayed. There is one unique case in the reliefs of Set I on the outer face of the northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. The second register on the left side depicts the Syrians cutting down trees and bowing in supplication before the advancing king in his chariot (Pritchard 1954: 110, Pl. 331; Porter, Moss, and Burney 1972: 53; Figure 9). At first this may seem strange. Usually it is the army of Egypt that is shown conducting the destructive activity. However, on further thought one may suspect that the Syrians from Lebanon are seeking the mercy of the advancing king and in a last desperate measure attempt to appease the king by offering him their most valuable commodity, the well-known cedars of Lebanon. The trees are depicted in a totally different manner from conventional drawings in the scenes to the left and below. This may indicate their identification as a cedar, given their long trunks.²²

²¹ The cedar of Lebanon, *C. libani*, was a coniferous tree that could attain a height of 30 m and was capable of reaching an age of two to three thousand years (Zohary 1982: 104-105). The trees depicted in this relief are not coniferous if one examines the leaves shown. Nevertheless, their height could indicate a cedar of Lebanon. The

At Luxor an unnamed Syrian city has been plundered by Ramses II (Wreszski 1931: Taf. 63; Schulman 1964b: 18). Its gates are askew and the city lies empty. The surrounding lands depopulated to its left are covered with what is left of its fruit-trees. All of them have been cut down. Only the bushes and the smaller vegetation remain standing. The scene depicting the battle of the city of Tani during the reign of Ramses III further illustrates the destruction of trees (III II Pl. 88-89). In the upper right-hand corner soldiers are shown cutting down trees with axes. Behind one of the soldiers several fruit trees are piled up. Others are approaching incursions of grain with sickle swords or possibly fire. These two depictions are the earliest portraits of the destruction of trees on hands, and possibly grain.



Figure 9. The cutting of trees in Lebanon before Seti I

artist may have known only of their long trunks and added the leaves as part of the representation. In the Syrian depiction of these events (see Meiggs 1982: 6).

Schulman (1964b: 8) suggests that the scene depicts an Egyptian soldier setting fire into a haystack. This may be a possible interpretation of the soldier situated beneath the first axe, holding his right hand against the pile of hay grain. But the soldier above him seems to hold a sickle.

Conflagration

Conflagration is known as a military tactic throughout the ancient Near East. This is especially the case in the Assyrian period when cities are spoken of as being burned to the ground (Younger 1990: 98, 106-107; see Chapter Two, 191-192). The Egyptians also refer to fire and burning throughout their military records, but frequently not in a direct manner. Instead, there are several ways that conflagration is implied: (1) as a metaphor for the king, (2) as a metaphor for the army of Egypt, and (3) directly as a military activity.

Metaphor for the King

The primary contextual setting of flame, fire, or burning is part of the rhetoric employed to illustrate the power of the king and the fear that he inparts to his enemies. This metaphor is found in military documents throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. In his war against the Hittites, Seti I is described as one "who enters among them like a fiery flame *sdt* reducing them to non-existence" (Kitchen 1993a: 15; *ARI* I 18: 4). Later "He is like a flame *ht* by its shocking bath unchecked by water" (Kitchen 1993a: 13; *ARI* I 23: 5). Here both *sdt* and *ht* are attributed to the king who destroys his enemy. On the exterior northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the text states, "How mighty is his [the king's] power against them, (just) like fire when he destroys *skt* their towns" (*ARI* I 18: 4; Kitchen 1993a: 15). Here the power of the king is expressed by comparing him metaphorically to fire.

Likewise, Ramses II in the *Poem of the Battle of Kadesh* is portrayed as one who is "Like a flame (*ht*) at its time of devouring; bold as a bull arrayed [on] the field of combat" (Wilson 1927: 267; *ARI* II 7: 7). Ramses II is compared with Re, the Sun rising at dawn, "My uraeus-serpent overthrew for me [my] enemies and gave forth its fiery blaze *ht* in a flame *uswt* in the face of my foe, so that I was like Re in his rising at dawn, and my rays burned *wdt* the flesh of my enemy" (Wilson 1927: 276; *ARI* II 8: 10). The concept of *wdt* *ht* *uswt* "my rays burning the flesh" of the enemy is found also in the *Buhen*. "His every district before him was encompassed by a blaze *rkht* of fire (*ht*), and he burned up *wdt* every foreign country with his blast *ht*, while his two eyes were glaring when he saw them, and his personality blazed fire against them" (Wilson 1927: 28; *ARI* II 120: 10).

The inscriptions of Ramses III make the most metaphorical use of the king as a flame or heat. His heat *nbh* causes the burning up of the Nubian Bows *ARI* V 13,8, their villages *ARI* V 12,12 and their bodies *ARI* V 30,12; V 69,10). His heat may be equated with his name (*m.f*) and the terror of him *m.f* that "burn up (*m.f*) the plains and the hill countries" (*ARI* V 12,11) and the lands of the enemies *ARI* V 49,4. Indeed, when nations pronounce his name they are said to burn up *m.f* *ARI* V 41,4. His fire is compared with the heat of an oven *ARI* V 65,10.

The metaphoric depiction of the king as giving out heat (*hh*), burning *m.f* victims, villages and lands and going forth like a flame *nbh* could be interpreted as having some historical validity as an Egyptian military tactic inflicted by the king or military upon Egypt's enemies. But it is more likely that when viewed within the larger contextual setting it is stereotypical rhetoric especially during the reign of Ramses III.

Metaphor for the Egyptian Army and Battle

A second semantic domain for the usage of conflagration imagery is in reference to the battle itself or the army of Egypt. Such imagery occurs first in the *Pem* of the Battle of Kadesh where the following description is provided: "Then total was 1000 spans of chariotry which came straight on to the fire *h*." Wilson 1927: 272 *ARI* II 51,5. Here the enemy is described by the number of their chariotry and said to come directly into the fire i.e., into direct confrontation with the armies of Egypt. This metaphor is again more frequent in the documents of Ramses III. The "Sea Peoples" are said to be "coming, while the flame *nbh* was prepared before them, forward toward Egypt" *ARI* V 40,2. Again, the writer states: "As for those who reached my frontier, their seed was not. Their heart and their soul are finished for ever and ever. As for those who came forward together on the sea, the full flame *hnt* was in front of them [at] the Nile mouths." Here again, the terms for flame *nbh* *hnt* seem to speak metaphorically of the Egyptian army preparing itself for battle. This is evident in several references where a direct claim of conflagration is made, ones that are not necessarily couched in metaphorical terms.

Direct References to Conflagration

Several direct references to conflagration as a military tactic exist during the XIXth Dynasty. In Merenptah's Great Libyan War Inscription at Karnak it states that "They were taken away — fire *ht* was set to the camp and their tents of leather" *ARI IV 9,10*. Apparently this action was taken after the inhabitants were removed. This statement occurs in a non rhetorical section of the inscription as the conclusion to the list of spoil that was "taken off *mr* as plunder *hkr*." Among these items were 3,111 copper swords of the Mesh-wesh, drinking vessels, armor, and knives. Breasted *ARE 3,250-251*. All of these items were apparently taken before *mr* was set at the camp. Another statement in the Merenptah Stela is similar: "Their camp was burned and made a wast-ah his possessions were food for the troops" *ARI IV 2,14*. Here there is again evidence of food being confiscated by the Egyptians and used as food for their soldiers. Only when these items were taken was their camp burned.

These direct references are significant for several reasons. 1. It is apparent that settlements/camps comprised of tents of leather were subject to conflagration. 2. From the references of Merenptah, this action was apparently taken only after all objects valued by the Egyptians were removed for booty. This included a variety of items such as vessels, pottery, swords, armor, cattle, and grain/food. The absence of this type of material culture might be significant for archaeological investigations.

The metaphorical usage of fire and burning to describe the power of the king represents an important theme through the military terminology of the XIXth Dynasty. Although these uses of metaphor may represent the reality of fire as a major military tactic in the late New Kingdom, the lack of depictions illustrating the use of conflagration in the iconography is also significant. Furthermore, there are only three direct textual references to conflagration: two of these associated with tents/camps and only one statement dealing with unspecified towns/villages. This indicates that overall these references are rare in the literature and cannot be interpreted as a general military tactic of the Egyptians.

CONCLUSIONS

The lexicographic and contextual investigation of Egyptian military terminology has provided several significant conclusions concerning the Egyptian perception of military activity in the southern Levant.

1. The contextual usage of the terms indicates that the king is at the center of all military activity. He is the one who 'smites' (*hnt*), 'overthrows' (*shr*), 'slays' (*frw*), 'kicks' (*hnb*), 'casts down' (*phw*), 'tramples' (*hpt*), 'destroys' (*sksk*), and 'cuts off heads' (*hsk*). The focus of these actions is in most cases solely on the inhabitants of regions or cities, rarely against cities or villages themselves. It is the king who defeats these enemy peoples and nations. Many of the terms are employed as epithets of the king. Thus, the actions of the military establishment are attributed to the king for legitimization purposes. Regardless of who caused these actions, or the rhetorical way that they are presented, the military action itself is significant. Obviously the Egyptians had specific reasons for directing their actions against people and nations who were viewed as "wretched" (*hst*), "wicked" (*bin*) and "evil" (cf. Younger 1990: 183-184). Another inscription states, "The wretched by which His Majesty carried off (m) when it was wicked, Ashkelon" (Yadin 1963: 228). From these designations it appears that the Egyptians viewed the Syrian king as causing upheaval and unrest. It was their duty to uphold *ma'at*, "truth, justice, order," in the surrounding regions. Although this might simply have been an attempt to legitimize their will to expand the empire by extending their boundaries (cf. Galán 1995), the superiority of the king in protecting Egypt is a major factor for these actions.

2. Not only was the king powerful, but his power and authority to exercise military action originated from Amun himself and it was to Amun that the spoils (*hḫ*) and captives (*hḫt*) were brought (*hnt*). Thus, in addition to a legitimization role, there is an important ideological factor involved.

3. It is within this ideological context that another interest is couched. These spoils, plunder and captives were of primary economic importance to both the temple and palace (Briefferg 1984a, 1984b, 1988). The amount and types of goods brought from these regions were significant (Na'aman 1981).

4. Military action against crops, orchards, and trees applied to cities and socioethnic groups in the destruction, conflagration, or

confiscation of their life support system. These actions were widely practiced in the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasties.

3. Allusions to conflagration are employed as metaphors of the king and army in battle. Direct references are also present, but are primarily associated with socioethnic groups living in tents. No evidence of burning larger fortresses, cities, or sites exists in textual and iconographic records even though destruction by conflagration seems to be a major factor at sites throughout the southern Levant during this period (see Introduction, 1-2).

6. It is significant to note that of the thirty terms that comprised this study only five have an extensive and meaningful semantic context of describing the means by which military activity is taken against cities, fortresses, or villages. Of these, the most common claim is that Pharaoh "plunders" *hf* a given fortress. This verb is often replaced in parallel texts with *mt*, "to carry off." The semantic context of these terms indicates that spoils and captives were taken from the city which became subject to the king and to Egypt. This general term does not necessarily imply the destruction of the city itself. Related to *hf* and *mt* contextually is the term *mh*, "to capture, seize." This term is used to indicate the action taken against Crete. *Msk*, "to hawk up, destroy," is a term employed more generally to describe the action against the lands of different nations and in only one case against towns. Its relatively infrequent usage in the XIXth Dynasty indicates that this was not a major action. There is only one possible reference to the destruction of the walls of a city. In a very fragmented text the "breaching" of walls is mentioned. But, overall, it should be noted that the Egyptian scribes were very stereotypical and general in their references to specific military actions. In the inscriptions there is never any indication of what parts of cities were destroyed. The reader is told only that everything was "destroyed," "plundered" or "carried away." It is only from a second accompanying source of communication that more specific conclusions can be drawn concerning the military action taken against cities. The iconography in representational depictions.

The study of iconographic aspects of Egyptian military activity complements and expands the database of available Egyptian historical records, providing a wider framework of communication. It provides the following significant conclusions concerning the Egyptian practice of warfare in the southern Levant:

1. The iconography associated with the textual accounts displays

close parallels in describing the focus of military activity. The acts of "smiting" *hwt* and "cutting off heads" *hwt* are shown as the king "grasps" his enemies by the cords around their necks with one hand and with a mace, sickle-sword, or spear in his other outstretched arm. The actions of "trampling" *pꜣpꜣ tꜣ*, "casting down" *pꜣd, hꜣdꜣ gꜣgh*, and "overthrowing" *ꜣw* of the enemy are depicted by the king standing on the head of the chiefs, his horses trampling the overthrown enemy beneath their feet, and running over them with his chariot. All of these battle actions are shown in relief, providing a parallel iconographic portrayal of the actions described in the text.

2. The depictions of fortresses and cities give a more complete concept of the means by which Egyptian military activity was executed against these enemies. These data relate directly to the terms *hꜣ* and *ꜣw*. The iconography provides two perspectives: one that depicts the actions as they are taking place and another that shows the results of the activity. Both are crucial to delineate military practices. The first type of depiction provides information on the perceived military tactics of the Egyptians and the defenders of cities: the use of siege equipment, the type of weapons employed, the manner and focus of the attack, etc.). The second type of relief conveys the Egyptian perception of what remained after this activity was completed (standing walls of the city; the gates of the city askew; fruit trees cut down, etc.). Although the primary goal of these attacks was the destruction of rebellious and wicked enemy peoples, the confiscation of prisoners and their possessions, and the ultimate expansion of Egypt's borders that served to legitimize the king of Egypt and the gods (the means through which this was accomplished is provided by this iconographic information).

3. The reliefs confirm that spoils and captives were brought back to Egypt from surrounding regions where they were presented to Amun or to the Theban Ennead. The depictions portray the Pharaoh guiding the tied captives or driving them before his chariot and horses. Moreover, the reliefs depict the types of spoils that are taken and the dress of prisoners, details that provide significant evidence for the goods Egyptians were interested in and the ethnic distinctions among the defeated enemies.

4. Reliefs of Sen I, Ramses II, and Ramses III indicate the method by which crops, trees, and orchards were destroyed: by hacking them down with battle-axes.

5. There is no iconographic evidence for the use of fire against

cities during the attack. After the city is "plundered" it is still depicted as standing and largely intact. This has important implications for archaeological interpretation.

The preceding analysis was crucial in delineating some important aspects of the Egyptian perspective of military activity in surrounding regions. Egyptian military documents and representations consist of highly rhetorical forms of "language" that portray the king as sole protector and legitimate ruler over Egypt. The ideology is reflected in the medium of communication: temple walls, as well as in the terminology and depictions. These are broadly stereotypical and rhetorical. By examining this rhetoric in a broad contextual framework, certain elements begin to emerge with clarity. These include the focus, means, and extent of military activity. Although one might find that the description of the effects of military activity lack many of the specific details that may be addressed from an archaeological perspective, it must be recognized that the Egyptians possessed their own purposes for discourse and in their view the descriptions achieved the desired results. This text has provided the discipline with an additional source of data that stands as a basis of comparison and acts in supplementing the archaeological evidence in an altogether new way.

For the reconstruction of Egypt's military activities in the southern Levant, an investigation of the comparative archaeological contexts in the regions claimed to have been overcome and subjugated is necessary. The following chapters will focus on these archaeological contexts. By analyzing these data on their own parameters the impact of Egyptian military activity can be evaluated from another independent perspective.

CHAPTER TWO

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT CITY-STATE AND TERRITORIAL ELEMENTS

Egyptian military accounts of the XIXth Dynasty contain toponyms of specific sites and larger geographical territories. They are distinguished as foreign entities by their determinatives and orthography and many are also depicted in Egyptian reliefs that portray them in the fray of the attack or abandoned. In the previous chapter certain conclusions were drawn on the basis of this textual and iconographic evidence from Egypt. The main goal of that chapter was to establish what military activities took place in upholding *ma'at* 'truth, justice, and order' in Egypt and in surrounding regions. This chapter concentrates on the concrete effects of that Egyptian military activity in archaeological contexts and their interpretation.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section deals with the archaeological evidence for Egyptian presence/influence in the southern Levant. Elements of Egyptian-type architecture and material culture are briefly outlined. This is followed by an evaluation of the interpretive models that these data have generated. The aim of this section is to emphasize the economic and political interest of Egypt in this region as evident in Egyptian presence/influence. This interest precipitated military action when the security of the region was threatened by possible internal and external factors, a thesis that is tested in the chronological framework of the campaigns in archaeological contexts.

The following three sections deal with sites appearing in the military accounts during the reigns of the three major rulers of the XIXth Dynasty: Seti I, Ramesses II, and Merenptah. Each section begins with a brief overview of the individual chronologies of these rulers with more specific interest addressed to the chronology of the campaigns. Once the chronology of the campaigns is established, a detailed investigation of toponyms in Syria, Transjordan, and Cisjordan is conducted. These sites are each analyzed according to the research design outlined in Chapter One. First, the context of their occurrences in Egyptian military accounts is evaluated. Second, their

identification according to Egyptian and Semitic orthography is established. These steps are undertaken before an assessment of archaeological contexts is conducted.

For the archaeological contexts it is important to understand the history of investigation for each site. This is outlined in one section. Second, the occupational history of the site is summarized with specific attention given to the Late Bronze Age horizon. Third, the correlates of a possible destruction are addressed. Questions concerning the *how*, *means*, and *extent* of the destruction are directed to the archaeological data. Fourth, an attempt to establish the chronological framework of the destruction is made. Fifth, subsequent activity at the site, following the destruction, is evaluated for possible indications concerning the effects of the destruction on the local population and the cause of the destruction. This includes an investigation of elements of continuity and discontinuity. Once each of these steps has been taken, an assessment of the evidence is provided for each toponym. The results of the analysis of toponyms during the reigns of Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah are given in summaries at the end of each section before general conclusions and implications are presented.

THE NATURE OF EGYPTIAN PRESENCE IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT

Egyptian presence in the southern Levant is a matter of great importance in establishing the impetus for Egyptian military activity in the region. The thesis that Egyptian military action was carried out to reestablish *ma'at* "truth, justice, order," rests on the premise that dominance over the region was based on economic, political, and ideological concerns resulting in wide-scale Egyptian presence/influence over the region. Archaeological investigations of Egyptian presence in the southern Levant have focused largely on influences detectable in architecture and material culture. Recent excavation results have added to the growing corpus of material. Specific categories are arranged as follows: 1. Architecture: governor's residences, forts, temples, and naval bases. 2. Material culture: weapons, ivory doorjambs and lintels, stelae, statues, and plaques, anthropoid coffins, pottery and alabaster pendants and amulets, scarab seals, and hieratic inscriptions. The archaeological data for each of these categories are summarized in this section to indicate the degree of

Egyptian presence/influence in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition

Egyptian Architecture

"Governor's" Residences

The notion of a "governor's" residency is based on an imperialist model with the expected local rulers exercising control of their assigned regions. Such residences have been identified in early excavations in Palestine (Leonard 1989: 31). Macalister suggested in 1912 that there was such a residency located at Gezer (Macalister 1912a: 206; cf. Singer 1986: 1994: 288). During his excavations at Tell el-Far'ah (S), Petrie likewise, detected a significant building and called it a "governor's residency," posulating that it may have belonged to the highest official at the site or the Egyptian governor (Petrie 1930: 17; Alt right 1938: 357-359; cf. Oren 1984b: 39). Similar residences were described at numerous sites including buildings 1006 and 1700 at Stratton VI at Beth Shan (James 1989: 4-5, 161-174; James and McGovern 1993: 1-5; Building 906 at Tell Sera (Stratton IX Oren 1984b: 39-45; 1993a; Building 13 at Tell Jemneh (Stratton JK, Petrie 1928; Pl. VI Van Beek 1983; cf. Oren 1984b: 40; Building

The residency at Gezer, first suggested by Macalister (1912a: 206), has recently received additional support and interpretation as an Egyptian governor's residence (Singer 1986; 1994: 288). Singer argues that later material culture found at the site including a large stone block that contains part of the hieroglyphic sign *nb* (*gob*) signifies Egyptian building. He furthermore points out that many of the features of the building are similar to other "governor's" residences found in Canaan (88: 28-30; 1994: 288). Singer's conclusion has been challenged by Maier (1989a) who proposes that the residency dates to an earlier time period while Bunnimowitz (1989b) proposes a much different location for the "governor's" residency.

Maier's conclusion is based on a perspective parallel with Beth Shemesh (Stratton V, MB III-IB). He makes some important points concerning the presence of Egyptian material culture at the site contending that these objects "could have found their way to Gezer in numerous ways . . . trade." The lack of Egyptian pottery seems to indicate that Egyptians were not residing there (Maier 1988: 89-96). But this argument is problematic. Macalister's excavations were uncontrolled and thus Egyptian pottery may have been present but unrecognized and discarded. Subsequent excavations revealed that Macalister had completely excavated the area. No additional ceramic evidence could be gathered (Younker 1991; Dever and Younker 1991; Dever 1993a) although excavators support that this structure dates to the period of the New Kingdom (LB II) due to its stratigraphic relationship with the Middle Bronze Inner Wall (Dever 1993a: 40). Because of these difficulties, the identification of this building as an Egyptian structure remains unconfirmed (cf. Dever 1993a: 40).

4.0 at Tell Masos (Stratum IIIA, Kempinski and Fritz 1977, Kempinski *et al.* 1982, 14, 80, Fritz and Kempinski 1985); Tell el Hesi (Stratum "City Sub IV," Bliss 1998: 71-74, cf. Weisstein 1981; Oren 1984b: 46-47 and most recently at Tell es-Sa'idiyah (Stratum XII, Areas AA and EE, Tubb 1988-1990; Tubb, Dorrell, and Cooney 1990, 1997 and Pella Phase VA-B; Potts and Smith 1990: 47-64; Wabnsley *et al.* 1993; Bourke 1994). Another building at Aphek has received this designation (Stratum X-12; Kochavi 1978; 1980; 1981-78; 1990).

In his analysis of these possible "governors' residences," Oren posits that these buildings exemplify what he calls "a special category of domestic architecture" (1994: 51). These reflect strong Egyptian influences which can be differentiated from other Syrian-influenced royal palaces known during the Middle and Late Bronze ages at Hazor, Shechem, and Megiddo (cf. Ham 1979; Fritz 1983b; Oren 1992, see Figure 10).

Despite some of the difficulties at several sites it seems proper to conclude with Higginbotham (1993) that this type of Egyptian architecture has valid parallels in Egypt.

But what evidence is there that these residences were occupied by Egyptians? At Beth Shan a major concentration of Egyptian statues,

The expedition to Pella by the University of Sydney uncovered a Late Bronze Age building which they designated as a "Governor's Residence" (Bourke 1994: 65 or "Palatial Residence" Bourke *et al.* 1994: 104). Excavators classified it with the courtyard houses of Oren (1984b, cf. "center hall houses," Higginbotham 1993) although they note that this architectural type "is a local form derived from Middle Bronze Age precedents" (Bourke *et al.* 1994: 104-105, cf. Bietak 1992). This structure had three phases. The first phase (VB) dates to the Late Bronze I period based on an accumulation of Chocolate-on-White ware (see section VB) to the Late Bronze I-II where Chocolate-on-White and White-on-white are more distinctive. Early Phase VA witnessed the construction of small stone and mudbrick walls and the addition of two to three small rooms in the eastern and western margins of the courtyard. The occupational contexts contained sherds of Mycenaean IIIA2/IIIB.

Excavators have noted that although the construction resembles that of the Beth Shan residence, it predates Beth Shan by about two centuries. Furthermore, there are no Egyptian features obvious in the construction of the Pella residence. Walls are trench-built, footings are of massive field-stones, topped with neatly-laid yellow-brown mudbrick showing no signs of adobe, window sumps or separation of the exterior walls making (Bourke *et al.* 1994: 107, cf. Fig. 13). Possible Egyptian-type material culture includes a Serpentine slyx fragment dating to the XVI to XIX Dynasties (cf. Canir 1988: 63-16) and a scarab seal (XVth Dynasty Bourke *et al.* 1994: 103-4). Decorative vases, boxes, Potts 1981: 98, coniform tablets, and one scarab seal impression (Potts and Smith 1990: 54-54-64) indicate to the excavators that this building served as the residence of the local governor (Bourke 1994: 1-7).



Figure 10. "Governor's" residences in the southern Levant
 1. Tell Sera; 2. Tell Masos; 3. Beth Shan; 4. Tell el-Hesi;
 5. Tell Jemmeh; 6. Tell el-Far'ah (S); 7. Aphek
 Owen 1984b: Fig. 2

selae architecture and other material culture indicates that it was an Egyptian stronghold. At Apeh a tablet dated to ca. 1250 B.C. written by Takuhina, prefect of Ugarit to Haya, presumably an Egyptian vizier and royal messenger to foreign lands, was found in the construction debris (Stratum XI2) of the residency (Owen 1981: 1-3). This tablet may indicate that the Egyptian *Haya*, who was active during the reign of Ramses II (Habachi 1971: 64-71, cf. Owen 1981: 9-10; Singer 1983) was a resident at Apeh in the residency there around 1250 B.C. The hieratic inscriptions at Tell Sera indicate that there were Egyptian or Egyptian-trained scribes who kept records of the taxed grain income to Egyptian *Stat-punktr* (Goldwasser 1984: 86; see 113-114).

The implication that at least some "governor's" residences may have been occupied by Egyptians or Egyptian vassal rulers, indicates the economic and political interest of the Egyptians in the region. The fact that many buildings were built in Egyptian-style architecture may reflect the influence of Egypt in a concrete way.

Forts on the "Ways of Horus"

Smaller fortifications began to appear along the "Ways of Horus" during the Late Bronze III period. Several proposals that these fortresses exhibited Egyptian influence in their structural design and in the accompanying material culture have been made (Oren 1980, 1987; L. Dothan 1987; Oren and Shereshevski 1989; Kempinski 1992). For Egyptian architectural parallels, see Clarke 1913; Bacawey 1977. This interpretation is supported by both archaeological and textual/historical evidence. In an article published in 1920, Gardner studied the reliefs of Sen I at Karnak and toponyms mentioned in Papyrus Harris I. At Karnak, Sen I is depicted fighting the "foes of Sutekh" and subsequently driving several lines of captives back to Egypt. On these reliefs twenty-two toponyms appear along the route and can be classified as forts or larger fortified towns, with accompanying bodies of water (reservoirs). Unfortunately, only *Sole*, *Thel*, and *Gaza*, the first and last toponyms, and possibly *Rafia*, have identifiable names. The others are names reflecting the king. It is suggested that these depictions represent the actual system of fortification lining the "Ways of Horus" (L. Dothan 1982b, 1987, 1993; Oren and Shereshevski 1989; Oren and Shereshevski 1989, 11). I postulate that the reliefs of Sen I depict eleven actual locations with accompanying bodies of water. Z. Gal (1993: 80-81) suggests that the distances between these locations can be calculated as approximately 25 km, based on the inscriptions of Thutmose III and a correlation with Mesopotamian royal road systems.

Higginbotham (1993: 455-466) classified this category as "administrative buildings." Her study encompassed only three sites in modern Israel without extending along the northern Sinai. The term *mgdol* was first used during the reign of Sen I to describe and depict forts in the southern Levant (Gardner 1920). The only true *mgdols* have been found at Tell Mor (Strata VIII-VII and possibly VI-V) (L. Dothan 1990a: 124) and at Beth Shan (Stratum VII) (James and McGovern 1993a: 237). Following a destruction at the end of the fourteenth

century, the *migdol* at Tel Mor was constructed in a square plan of 23 x 23 m of mudbrick (Stratum VIII-VII). During the second half of the thirteenth century the city was completely destroyed a second time, as is evident in a thick layer of ash of 1.1 m which was attributed to Ramses II (M. Dothan 1993b: 1073). On top of the ruins a smaller fort was erected, which resembled a *migdol*, as mentioned by the Egyptians (M. Dothan 1993a: 134; see plan in M. Dothan 1993b: 1073). At Beth Shan (Level VII) a *migdol* was identified by excavators (Rowe 1928; 1930: 20, Fig. 2). It is a square, buttressed structure that served as a defensive position inside the town for military personnel (James and McGovern 1993a: 232). Other fortresses were found during the survey and excavation of the Northern Sinai (1975-1982) under the direction of E. Oren of Ben-Gurion University at Bar el-Azud (Oren 1973b; 1993b) and Haruba (Oren 1987; Kempinski 1992). Excavators

Following excavations in 1973 it became apparent that Area A consisted of 10 x 43 m (100 m) buttresses surrounded by a wall 1 m wide and constructed of three rows of sun-dried mudbricks and sun-baked. According to the excavators, the size of the bricks (44 x 22 x 10 cm) and the bonding pattern are characteristic of the public architecture of New Kingdom Egypt (Oren 1973b: 1073). On one beaten earth floor associated with the walls of the buttress, domestic Egyptian pottery vessels of the New Kingdom period were found, including storage jars, cooking stands, bowls, and decorated painted or typical Amarna style (Oren 1973b: 1073). Some of the fortresses a large magazine built of sun-baked clay evident only from its interior (Oren 1973b: 1073).

Near Area A, Area B, an excellently preserved granary was discovered consisting of four cylindrical silos, each about 4 m in diameter with walls approximately 4 m thick (Oren 1973b: 1073). It is estimated that the granary could have held up to 41,000 liters of flour or grain or legumes. One silo still retained several courses of the torbeaded dome and therefore could be reconstructed (Oren 1973b: 1073). Similar granaries are depicted in tomb paintings, one in particular in the tomb of Pehankhet, Thebes (cf. Oren 1987-88, Fig. 5).

The depression in Area C, measured 15 x 13 m, was bordered by a kind of as-plastered embankment. Thick layers of silt that lined the edges and floor of the depression were recorded. Leading excavators believe that this was a reservoir supplying fresh water to the fortress (Oren 1993b: 1389).

The material culture at this site exhibited clear Egyptian influence or occupation. Pottery painted in "Egyptian blue," hundreds of specimens of thumb-indent, thick-lipped flower pots, small vessels decorated with heads of gazelles, ibexes and faience vessels, scarabs from the XVIIIth Dynasty as well as an important jar handle impressed with the cartouche of Seti I were found. Only a very few Canaanite vessels were present along with Cypriot ware and a examples of Mycenaean pottery (Oren 1993b: 1389).

The fortress Site A-280 is the largest in the northern Sinai at 1500 sq. m (50 x 50 m) (Kempinski 1992: 141). The enclosure wall is 4 m wide and was preserved to a height of one meter. The excavators estimate that the whole structure must have risen to a height of 10 m (Oren 1987-88). The standard size of the bricks (45 x 22 x 12 cm) and the bonding pattern are typical of domestic and public architecture in New Kingdom Egypt (Oren 1987-88; cf. Spencer 1979: 104-106). The massive gate house

under the directions of F. Dothan uncovered a similar fortress south of Gaza at Deir el-Balah. T. Dothan 1972a, 1972b, 1973, 1979, 1982b, 1983a, 1983b, 1987, 1993. A fifth New Kingdom site, Tel Habonah, was partially excavated in 1980. Maksoud 1987, cf. Hoffmeier 1997: 60-61.

At the eastern side of the fortress— 3×12 m—had an entry about 16 m long and 3.7 m wide and was flanked by two bulwereses (8×13 m each). The fortress consisted of a large courtyard possibly for pitching tents and parking chariots). Other rooms indicated domestic and storeroom usage. Two phases (II-III) of construction and floors were excavated inside the fortress.

The ceramic repertoire of Phase III included a high percentage of LB vessels typical of the southern coastal plain, such as shallow straight-sided bowls with straight-cut bases, carinated kraters, large flasks decorated with incised circles, painted in red, and numerous storage jars. Typical imports such as White Slaves, a single light White Slip rimmed bowl, Base Ring wares and jugslets were found as were Mycenaean storage jars, pyxides and flasks. Phase II was represented by four I wares including storage jars with straight all-beaks and bowls with a convex profile (Oren 1987: 95-96). Both phases also contained large amounts of locally made Egyptian-type vessels and Egyptian imports, particularly of the XVIII and XIX Dynasties paralleled at Gizeh, Deir el-Medina and Tell el-Yahudiyah in Lower Egypt and near by Deir el-Balah (Oren 1985: 10-18, 1993: 174, Pls. XXV, XXVI, 100-103, Pls. XXXI-D, Br. 100, and Fig. 100b, 102, Pls. XXXII, XXXIII, Nage 1995). Other material culture included a group of warabes, two duck heads that once decorated clay bowls, clay uraei, colura heads, a stone firing from a chariot and fragments of a sandstone sphinx-like statuette (Oren 1988: 85).

The administrative center Site A-345 was located 400 m north of the fortress. The perimeter of the building was not defined and only three bonding units were excavated (perhaps as little as 8% of the site). A complex of magazines at the center of the site, a casemate-walled structure to the northwest, and an industrial center to the east were excavated. The floors of the magazines and the courtyards in front were covered by a thick layer of a compacted gray (Oren 1988: 139-141). The industrial area, a large potter's workshop contained two circular pottery kilns and the remains of a third one. From fragments found to the west of one of the kilns, it is evident that the workshop produced Egyptian-type vessels such as bowls and kraters, drops, jars, storage jars, flower pots, and offering stands. According to Oren, these vessels were comparable to the Egyptian vessels of northern Sudan (Oren 1985: 139, cf. Goren, Oren, and Feinberg 1992: 192).

The Haraki complex exhibits a strong Egyptian presence at this junction of the Ways of Horus. The dates were within the XVIII and XXth Dynasties, indicating that it may well be one of the stations depicted in the rebels of Seti I's Karnak Gardiner (1990).

Excavations revealed a large fortress extending over an area of 140,000 m² (400 m x 350 m). Two walls—preserved to a height of 1 m—were uncovered. They were constructed of mudbrick measuring 38 x 19 x 06 m each. The ceramic corpus of this site dates exclusively to the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom. These dates are verified by warabes from these periods as well as a doorjamb inscribed with the name of Seti I. Maksoud 1987: 13-14. An inscription of the king Nubkheperre Intef indicates that this site dates back to the seventeenth century B.C. Hoffmeier 1997: 100. This is the only fortress excavated along the Ways of Horus that is built in a rectangular fashion. Further excavations are expected to reveal more about the site.

These fortresses along the "Ways of Horus" have recently been compared with the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak (Oren 1987; Oren and Shereshevski 1989; Gal 1993; Oren and Shereshevski 1989) and conclude that the reliefs do not fully reflect the reality of the forts that occupied the "Ways of Horus." The vertical dimensions of the forts seem to correspond well, but the horizontal dimensions are abbreviated in an emphasized way. Furthermore, it is not possible to identify one site or another with the depictions on the reliefs. These depictions, according to Oren and Shereshevski, are simply fortresses hieroglyphs that point to a fortified structure. Others have indicated the close similarities between the reliefs and the archaeological remains (T. Dothan 1983a, 1987). But the specific identification of these sites with toponyms or the reliefs is fraught with difficulties. What is certain is that such sites can exist along the "Ways of Horus" and served as police or customs stations that protected merchants and military traffic (Oren and Shereshevski 1989) or as garrisons and outposts (T. Dothan 1983b; Oren 1987).

Temples

Egyptian temples in the southern Levant have been the topic of numerous essays (Ali 1953b; Helck 1971: 414-44; Givon 1978a; Weinstein 1981: 35-20; Uehlinger 1988; S. Wimmer 1990). They have been identified at a number of sites during the XIXth Dynasty including: 1) the rock-hewn caves of Serabit el-Khadim which served as a mining center of turquoise (Egyptian *mkkt*; S. Wimmer 1990: 1960 note 4; cf. Petrie 1903a; Givon 1978a: 61-67; 1. Ben-Anech 1984: 41-46; Ventura 1987b); 2) the Hathor temple at Timna (Stratum II; Givon 1965a; Rothenberg 1972a; 1972b; 1988, 1993; Schulman 1988); (3) and possibly the mound temple at Lachish (Stratum VI; Ussishkin 1978a). Weinstein concludes that, of all of these

Several difficulties presently preclude the specific identification of these fortresses: 1) The toponym Gaza is mentioned only in Papyrus Harris I and is not shown or designated on the reliefs of Seti I. The toponym Raphia is reconstructed from Papyrus Harris I to be identical with Gardiner's fortress L (Gardiner 1920: 125). Thus, the end of the "Ways of Horus" remains uncertain; and 3) Only the northern toponym is identified with any degree of certainty as *Thebes* (Gardiner 1920: 109; Gal 1993). This, together with the eastern canal of Egypt (Shel Weissbrod and Perach 1977; Shea 1977) appearing orally on the relief, provides a beginning point in the east from which one must work in a westward direction. For these reasons sites such as Deir el-Balah that are situated between Gaza and Raphia are difficult to identify.

only the Hathor temple at Timna "can be presently shown to have been a place of worship of an Egyptian deity" (1981: 19). During the XIXth Dynasty artifacts bearing the names Ramses II, and Merenptah (S. Wimmer 1990: 1069) have been found at Timna. This may indicate an important connection between the economic resources available at Timna and the interest of the Egyptians during the XIXth Dynasty.¹

Most of the other so-called Egyptian temples in the southern Levant which have been identified at Beth Shan (Stratum VI and V, Rowe 1940-1940; Fosse Temple at Lachish Phases II and III, Tafnell, Inge, and Harding 1940; for Egyptian artifacts, see Clamer 1976, 1980; Givon 1983) and Jerusalem (Barkay 1990, 1996) are most likely not Egyptian temples but reflect Canaanite cultic practices (S. Wimmer 1990; cf. Weinstein 1981). Textual sources refer to other temples including one at Ashkelon dedicated to Ptah (Givon 1978a: 25, Stager 1983b). A foundation deposit plaque was also discovered at Aphek (Givon 1978a: 26-27) which may be evidence for a Ramesside temple there (Weinstein 1981: 20). Although these inscriptions have no architectural parallels due to the lack of stratigraphic excavation they attest to the influence of Egyptian ideology on the region.

Naval Bases

The Egyptians, in addition to campaigns on land overland, were seafaring during the Late Bronze Age, and according to textual and iconographic sources conducted battles in the open sea (Saxe-Rodenberg 1944). This is most evident in the battle of Ramses III against the 'Sea Peoples' depicted on reliefs at Medinet Habu. Studies on the types of ships employed by the Egyptians and other groups have revealed that only one type of ship is depicted among the various entities (Arzy 1987: 75; cf. Wachsmann 1981); other studies have

¹ According to Rothenberg's earlier publications (1972a) Seti I was the first attested king at the site. This was based on information supplied by Givon (1969a). More recent publications have established that the earliest Egyptian king at Timna was Ramses II (Schulman 1976: 126 note 2; 1988).

² Baron (1978; 1981; 1983) claims that Timna was occupied only during the Iron Ages based on her analysis of the pottery, but her analysis fails to incorporate all of the evidence from Timna. Rothenberg (1983) has shown that Baron did not have access to much of the material that demonstrated evidence for this period (scarabs, pottery, etc).

shown that several types were in existence during this period. Artzy (1988: 1998). Depictions of ships were discovered on reliefs at Egypt at Deir el Bahri (Clowes 1932: 23; Medinet Habu *MHH* 1 Pl. 4; Kition on Cyprus (Bosch and Artzy 1986: Pls. 1b, 2b, 8c) and Akko (Artzy 1984: 1988: Fig. 1). This leads to the question of naval bases. If Egyptian dominance was dependent on military forces in the southern Levant is there any evidence of the construction of Egyptian naval bases for military and trading purposes along the coast of the Mediterranean?

One such suggestion was made for Tell Abu Hawam. Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam (directed by Hamilton, uncovered remains from Stratum V that were dated to 1400-1200 B.C. (Hamilton 1934: 11). In 1951, B. Mazar (Maisner) reassessed the stratigraphic sequence and dated Stratum V to 1300-1180 B.C. (Maisner 1951). He suggested that the 'settlement was founded by the Egyptian government during the reign of Sethos I. and that it was intended to serve as a base for the Egyptian navy as a port for the Valley of Jezreel' (1951: 22). These dates have been further revised by subsequent excavations by E. Anati, who divided Stratum V into Va (fourteenth century B.C.) and Vb (thirteenth-twelfth centuries B.C. (Anati 1959; 1963: 17); cf. Gerstamy (1981; Balensi 1985; Balensi and Herrera 1985; Raban and Garanti (1987; Rabar (1989-90; Balensi, Herrera and Artzy 1993).

Weinstein (1980) argues that the hypothesis of an Egyptian naval base at Tell Abu Hawam during the XIX Dynasty is without foundation. This is due to several reasons: 1. No Egyptian architectural influences were found; 2. No major Egyptian objects such as stelae, statuary, or inscriptions were evident; 3. No XIXth Dynasty royal names were found; 4. No Egyptian pottery was present during Stratum V; 5. No Egyptian objects were located in any of the eleven LB II tombs 1 km. north of the tell (Weinstein 1980: 43-44). Instead, Weinstein suggests that the pottery of the site indicates that its destruction occurred during the reign of Ramses II rather than Seti I as proposed by Maisner. This must have taken place at the same time that Akko was destroyed in the thirteenth century B.C. (Stratum 7; M. Dothan 1976: 20; 1977: 242). Artzy (personal communication) points to Abu Hawam as an excellent place for a harbor. The mountains guard the harbor from the south-western winds during the summer. However, access to the hinterland, due to the swampy conditions caused by the Qishon river and the Carmel ridge, renders this

site less ideal for a naval base than Akko. The possibility of an Egyptian harbor at Akko where depictions have occurred seems stronger at this time even though excavations at Akko produced no architectural evidence for such an interpretation.

The evidence suggests that there was some distinct Egyptian architecture present in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. The 'governor's' residency at Beth Shan, which appears with great quantities of Egyptian-type material culture indicated that this was a major outpost for Egyptian activities during Late Bronze II and III. The tablet from Ugarit, found in a residency at Aphek, indicates that it might have been occupied by Haya, an important Egyptian official during the reign of Ramesses II. The hieratic inscriptions from Tell Sera' indicate Egyptian scribed activity in the recording of harvest tax. Although it is not possible to ascertain from the current data available whether other branchings of this design and construction served local rulers who acted in Egyptian interest as vassals, or whether Egyptians themselves occupied these outposts, the pattern proposed by Alt of a *Stützpunktsystem* still seems valid today.

The forts at Tell Mor, Deir el-Balah, Bir el-Akhd, Hanuba, and Tell Haboua indicate that the fortresses along the "Ways of Horus" pictured on the exterior northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak were based on such a system of garrison outposts. Egyptian temples appear to be less dominant with only one presently known at Tanua, Serabit el-Khadem and others possibly at Aphek and Ashkelon. Together these architectural examples attest to the wide extent of Egyptian presence/influence in the southern Levant. This portrait emerges with more clarity from the distribution of material culture present at these and other sites.

Egyptian Material Culture

The Egyptian material culture in the southern Levant has been the subject of several recent studies. McGovern 1985; Higginbotham 1993, 1996, 1998; C. Herrmann 1985, 1994; Yannai 1996; Mumford forthcoming; Higginbotham 1993 analyzed categories of Egyptian-type material culture including pottery and alabaster. More recently, G. Mumford forthcoming is completing a dissertation that compiles all the Egyptian material culture in Syria/Palestine from 1150-1025 B.C. Other studies have focused on specific aspects including armory

and weapons: ivory doorjambs and lintels, stelae, statues and plaques; pottery and alabaster, anthropoid coffins; pendants and amulets; scarab seals; and hieratic inscriptions. These categories of material culture are important for establishing Egyptian presence/influence.

Armory and Weapons

The archaeological evidence for weaponry during the Late Bronze-/Early Iron Age transition includes javelin and spear-points, swords, and chariot fittings. The data demonstrate that this type of weaponry was at hand, confirming the depictions of these types of weapons and vehicles in Egyptian reliefs. One of the most comprehensive discussions of weapons and changes in weaponry during the transition is given by Robert Drews in his recent book *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* (1993, 174-208). On the basis of examining the weaponry in the eastern Mediterranean, Drews concludes that there were major changes in both armor and weaponry.

Javelin and Spear-Points. The short javelin is shown on the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak in his battle against the inhabitants of *Nub* (Epigraphic Survey 1986, Pl. 2). Several men are portrayed on the larger to be holding these weapons. It was observed that this weapon first appeared in the XIXth Dynasty (Bonnet 1936, 1-48). During the reign of Ramses III, javelins are shown in greater number. The reliefs at Medinet Habu depict several meter-long javelins. The short javelin was most probably used against chariot horses. A group of foot soldiers with javelins might have easily disabled a chariot force in little time, so that Drews concludes, "the javelin played a key role in bringing the era of chariot warfare to an end" (Drews 1983, 82). Since the shaft was wooden, little of the archaeological evidence remains. The bronze weapon-heads that have been found may be associated with either a spear or a javelin. It is suggested that many javelin heads were erroneously identified as arrowheads (Drews 1983, 183). De Margre's (1979, 54, 67) classification assigns one type, Tipo B 7, as belonging to a javelin. There are forty-three of these heads from the Levant, in particular Megiddo, dating to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Another hoard found at El Khadr in 1953 includes five that are inscribed with *h3-bab't* which Cross translated as "dart of Adb-Labit" (Milik and Cross 1964, 1-3). Due to their large size, Milik and Cross suggested that this weapon was a missile

thrown rather than shot. Thirteen of these types were found in the destruction stratum at Ugarit alone (Chavane 1987: 357). The three heads published in date measure 8.5 and 8.7 cm in length (Yon, Lombard and Renisio 1987: 46-48, Figs. 27-28). A Stratum XI jar (late eleventh century BC) from Hazor also contained several angled heads and shaft butts (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: Pl. CCX, nos. 6, 7, 10, and 11, Pl. CCCLVII). The socketed spear-head also reappeared during the Late Bronze II (Hockmann 1980: Tab. 193).

Swords. One of the most widely shown weapons in Egyptian iconography is the single-sword, a weapon that measured between 40 and 44 cm (E. S. Hall 1980: Pls. 41, 44-47, 50, 53, 55-57, 60). The sword has its origins in Mesopotamia but came to be used throughout the rest of the Near East, but not in the Aegean (H. W. Müller 1987: 112; Maxwell-Hyslop 1946: 41-44). This sword is found at numerous sites in the southern Levant during the second millennium BC, including Shechem (M. Fattor 1970: 13, cf. H. W. Müller 1987); Ugarit (Schaeffer 1936: 47, Pl. XVIII, no. 2, Tel. Gedor (S. Ben-Arieh 1978: nos. 1-3); Amman Ajlun (Lancaster Harding 1958: 7-18; Kamal el-Diz, Hachman 1983: 18; Beth Shan (Rowe 1929: 30-40, Pl. XV, no. 2), and Gezer (Mazar 1912a: 32-34, 1912b, Pl. LXXV, no. 10). The sword continued in use until the beginning of the Iron Age.

Drews maintains that at the end of the Late Bronze Age a new type of sword was introduced that would revolutionize warfare throughout the eastern Mediterranean. This sword, the Naue Type II or *Griffungenschwert* (Naue 1903; Catling 1956; Cowen 1955: 198 f.), was the first slashing sword that made a major difference in military capabilities. It was an average of 70 cm in length and was designed primarily for cutting or slashing (Drews 1963: 14). The earliest bears a cartouche of Seti II and was found in the Egyptian delta (Catling 1956: 116). Only eight others were found in the Near East and five in Cyprus (Catling 1956; 1968: 101-104). One of the most celebrated discoveries was a cut-and-thrust sword from Ugarit bearing the name of Merenptah (74 cm; Schaeffer 1955; 1956: 169-177). This sword, although not a Naue Type II, was found in pristine condition, with unsharpened edges, in the destruction level of Ugarit. The dating of the Ugarit swords is disputed; see the discussion in Drews 1963: 206-208.

Chariot Fittings. According to historical and iconographic records, chariots were commonly used by both Hittite and Egyptian

forces (Schadman 1963, 1979-80; cf. Drews 1993: 104-134). No complete chariots have been found other than those from the tomb of Tutankhamen in Thebes. However, chariot fittings such as saddle bosses and yoke terminals of stone and alabaster are present at several sites including Beth Shan. Levels VIII-VI. James 1978, Gaza. Peirce 1933 Pl. XXVII nos. 65-82-83, 1934 Pl. XXXVII, nos. 51-52 Pl. XLII, no. 120. Gezer. Alabaster 19-2b, 232, 376 and Megiddo. Lamon and Shipman 1933 Pl. 103-13, all sites that show occasional evidence of strong Egyptian presence/influence. Francis James pointed out that — all three strata that contain these fittings at Beth Shan are those that contain Egyptian architecture and other military installations and — that several of these fittings were made of local gypsum — considerations that may indicate that these were the products of Egyptian chariot workshops. James 1978: 103. The use and manufacture of chariots in the southern Levant seem highly probable on the basis of this material culture and would have facilitated Egyptian military activities to locations further north.

This survey of armory and weapons highlights the point that there are relatively few of these items from stratigraphic contexts in the southern Levant. Most of the objects have come from tombs. Why is there so little evidence? The scarcity of javelin, spear, and sword remains may be attributed to the practice of taking plunder and booty. In his campaign against the Libyans, Merneptah is said to have taken only twelve chariots but 9111 swords (Breasted *ARE* 3:589). This practice of plunder was carried out after the battle and the booty was transported back to Egypt (see Chapter One, 21-22). Other possibilities for the scarcity of weapons exist. Bent or damaged weapons may have been melted down and recast for other uses. The few examples that do exist testify to the accuracy of Egyptian reliefs in depicting the weaponry of the Late Bronze Age and point toward Egyptian presence/influence at several important sites in the region.

Ivory

The Late Bronze II period witnessed an increase in ivory work when compared with the bone-inlaid patterns of the Middle Bronze Age (Barnett 1975, 1982). Many of these ivories depict Egyptian motifs including both military and feast scenes (Lebowitz 1980). Lebowitz argues that these ivories, especially those found at Megiddo (cf. Loud 1939) and Tell el-Far'ah S., were of local manufacture and were not

imported from Egypt (Lebowitz 1987: 5). The Palestinian ivories feature less detail in their military portrayals than do the reliefs of Seti I and Ramses III (Lebowitz 1987: 6). Some of the motifs on the openwork plaques of Megiddo Stratum VIIA include: 1) the recumbent winged sphinxes; 2) Bes images; and 3) an Anubis image. Of importance to Egyptian influence is an ivory plaque depicting a local Canaanite ruler (Figure 1). The scene shows a ruler on his throne being served by attendants while a lyre-player entertains him. On some ivories, the recumbent sphinxes are male figures (Montet 1937: 173) but some female figures are known to exist as well (Dessenne 1957: 21) including one depicting Hatshepsut (Montet 1937: 73-174; cf. Lebowitz 1967; 1987: 8).

Other ivory figurines of the period include: 1) sculpture in the round; 2) duck-shaped cosmetic containers; 3) cosmetic spoons ending in duck heads; 4) cosmetic bowls; 5) decorative strips; and 6) gaming boards. Lebowitz uses these ivories as examples of the elegance and sophistication of the LB II which reflects "a high point in the material culture of Palestine" (Lebowitz 1987: 18; 1989) rather than a period of decline (Birnkowski 1989) responded to Lebowitz by pointing out that all of his examples come from Megiddo, Tell el-Farah S. and Beth Shan. He suggests that all of these sites were under Egyptian control. Moreover, the luxury items were found in "palaces" and reflect the upper classes and not the common towns where one would expect to find a cross-section of the quality of life in Canaan (Birnkowski 1989: 53). Lebowitz (1989: 64) maintains that it was not this Egyptianizing factor that caused many of the common motifs found on the ivories. He also points out that the quantity in ivory work increases from the LB I to LB II and that this reflects increased prosperity rather than decline (1989: 63). In any case, the ivories do reflect Egyptianizing features that become more frequent during this period. The most recent ivory from Tell Mique-Ekron found reused in Stratum 1b contains the cartouche of Merneptah (Gittin personal communication; cf. Wolff 1996: 745-746; Fig. 20).

Doorjambs and Lintels

A number of architectural fragments that can be identified as Egyptian have been found throughout Cisjordan. Weinstein (1981: 19) has compiled a list which includes: (1) Fragments of two blocks inscribed with the names of Ramses II found south of Gaza (Gaveon 1974: 2).

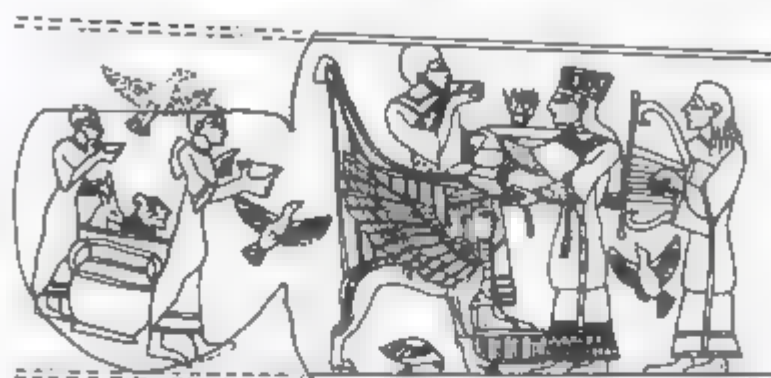


Figure 11. A local Canaanite ruler on an ivory from Megiddo
Loud 1939 Pl. 4, no. 2b

A fragmentary doorjamb from Ashdod containing the following inscription: ¹ "fartacrer of the king's right hand" (Arca G. Stratum XII, M. Dothan, 1969: 244, M. Dothan and Porath 1993: 18-219, Fig. 37, 280, Pl. 47.1). ² A stone block inscribed with the *nbw* sign from Gezer (Macalister 1912b: 80, Fig. 446; cf. Singer 1980). ³ Doorjamb from the gateway of Ramses II at Jaffa (Kaplan 1972: 79, Fig. 8, and numerous doorjamb, lintels and other architectural elements found at Beth Shan, Level VI, James 1966: 4-8, 151-74, James and McGovern 1993). These architectural features indicate Egyptian influence in terms of building activity at sites which have not been excavated extensively (Gaza, Jaffa, or those which already exhibit monumental Egyptian architecture: Beth Shan).

Stelae, Statues, and Plaques

Numerous stelae or fragments of stelae, plaques, and statues have been found throughout the southern Levant (for summary and list, see Weinstein 1981: 20). The stelae are discussed below as they appear in the archaeological contexts of various sites. Recent discoveries since Weinstein include an Egyptian statuette from Petra (Meza 1993), an ivory plaque bearing the cartouche of Merenptah from Tel. Migra Ekron (Stratum 1b, Glin personal communication, cf. Wolff 1996: 743-746, Fig. 20), and an Egyptian statue from Hazor dating to Amenemhet III (Ben-Tor personal communication). These mate-

nal remains, especially the monumental stelae at Beth Shan indicate that the Egyptians were present in the southern Levant and exerted their influence over the populations present there.

Pottery and Alabaster

This section would require a monograph in itself. Only a short synopsis will be attempted here based on earlier studies (Clamer 1976, Higginbotham 1993). According to Leonard, "the quality of Late Bronze IIB-IBIII pottery continued to decline already in the preceding periods" (1989: 31). Indeed the amount of Cypriot imports significantly changed and eventually they were no longer imported (Gritter 1981, cf. Leonard 1989: 31). Nevertheless, Mycenaean wares continued to be popular (Leonard 1987, cf. 1994).

The portrait of Egyptian-type pottery presents other issues concerning Egyptian trade, influence, and presence. In 1909 Amiran reported a "scarcity of Egyptian imported wares in Palestine" (Amiran 1909: 90). Excavations over the past two and a half decades have changed this conclusion. Weinstein (1981) believed that Amiran was correct in that most of the pottery seemed to have been locally made wares. Weinstein concluded that the highest concentration of pottery occurred at Beth Shan (James 1980: 27-28). Other sources included Tell el-Far'ah (S. MacDonald, Starkey, and Harding 1932, Pl. 88), Tell el-Balah (1), Dorhan (1974), Gerberg *et al.* (1986), as well as Tel Sera (Oren and Netzer 1974: 3), Oren (1993a).

The most recent comprehensive study of Egyptian pottery, alabaster, and other containers during the Ramesside period was undertaken by Higginbotham (1993: 124-213, 216-302, 1996). Higginbotham has systematically gone through attested sites with Egyptian influence and studied their Egyptian-style pottery. She makes several significant conclusions: 1. That compared with the New Kingdom ceramic corpus in Egypt (based on Nagel 1938, Holthorst 1977), very little variety is reflected in Palestine. 2. In her analysis of the distribution of these types she concludes that "only a small number of Egyptian-style pottery types are widely distributed in Palestine, being attested at more than four or five sites" (Higginbotham 1993: 206). Missing are Egyptian-style cooking pots, bread molds, bottles and flasks, as well as canopic jars and libation jars (Higginbotham 1993: 207). 3. Egyptian-style pottery is always accompanied with local wares which are usually predominant. 4. Egyptian-style pottery is

significantly more common in ritual and funerary contexts than in domestic contexts; (5) The sites where Egyptian-style wares are found cluster in three general regions: southwestern Palestine, the Shephelah and western Negev, and the Great Rift Valley.⁶ There occurs a large proportion of locally manufactured Egyptian-style pottery as well as actual imports.⁷ The locally manufactured wares are said to have been modified through the adoption of Egyptian production techniques: this was not tested by Higginbotham (1993: 206-22).⁸ (1996, 1998). Based on these conclusions, Higginbotham suggests that the evidence does not support Egyptian direct rule over the region. Instead she argues that these Egyptian-type vessels represent elite emulation, i.e., the local population copied Egyptian-style artifacts from the Egyptians whom they viewed as culturally "superior."

However, there are other ways to interpret these data. The limited production, in terms of quantity and forms, and distribution do not necessarily indicate that the local Canaanites were emulating their Egyptian neighbors to the south. If this were the case, one would expect a much wider distribution in the southern Levant. The fact that the distribution is limited to a few areas that exhibit other Egyptian architectural and material culture correlates seems to indicate that these were indeed Egyptian centers.⁹ Higginbotham's implication that all of the pottery needed to be imported from Egypt and be equally diverse in regions far from Egypt's "center" in order to support Egyptian presence is unfounded. Why would the Egyptians insist on using only Egyptian-type pottery? It would have been economically sound to utilize many of the local forms for daily use and retain the imported or locally made Egyptian-type forms for significant occasions such as ritual or funerary contexts. Undoubtedly some emulation of Egyptian customs and material culture carried over to the indigenous populations, but the evidence supports the thesis that the Egyptians

⁶ The southwestern Negev contains the fortress sites of Tell Mir, Deir el-Balah, Bir es-Sib, Haruba, and Tel Hadya which all contain both imports and locally made Egyptian-type pottery. The southwestern Shephelah contains the sites of Telza, Jaba, Ashdod, and Tel Miqne-Ekron where other Egyptian material culture was found. In addition sites like Tel Sera, Tell Mages, Tell el-Hesi, Tel Jemmeh, and Tell el-Faraj exhibit evidence of Egyptian residences as well as Egyptian cuneiform inscriptions. Tel Sera, see 1996. The Rift Valley contains such important sites as Beth Shean which contained most of the samples analyzed in Higginbotham's dissertation. Higginbotham's interpretation that all of these sites, with the exception of Deir el-Balah and Beth Shean, reflect elite emulation is striking all of the information, both textual and archaeological, into a pre-conceived model that cannot account for the complexity and diversity of the evidence.

did indeed expand into southwestern Palestine, the region closest to Egypt, the Shephelah and western Negev, and the Rift Valley.

Anthropoid Coffins

Recent investigations of burial practices during the Late Bronze Age at southern Levantine sites indicate that the method of burial in full-sized anthropoid coffins "derived from Egyptian prototypes" (Oren 1993a: 28) and was a limited phenomenon. Anthropoid coffins "consisted of an approximately two-meter long ceramic box tapered at one or both ends, with a modeled lid depicting a human face or body" (Bloch-Smith 1992: 135).

Excavations at Dair el-Balah revealed over 50 anthropoid clay coffins in the cemetery south of the site (I Dothan 1972b, 1973, 1979, 1983a, 1983b; Ben-Arieh 1983a). The cemetery was in use from the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. to the end of the Late Bronze Age (I Dothan 1972b: 71). The site also contained a large amount of Egyptian imported pottery and alabaster vessels (I Dothan 1973: 133-138). Scarabs of Thutmose III, Amenophis II, Thutmose IV, Amenophis IV, Set I, and Ramses II were found throughout the cemetery. Scarabs of Ramses II predominate (I Dothan 1973: 138). The anthropoid coffins are "clearly modelled on the pottery coffins found in Egypt from the period of the 18th dynasty onwards" (I Dothan 1973: 37; cf. Steinfart 1937: 72; Leclant 1971: 227-228). Engelbach (1915) states that the XIXth Dynasty coffins from Riqqah contain mummified remains. Other sites in the southern Levant which produced anthropoid coffins during this period were—two coffins at Tel el-Farah S. (Tombs 52, 562 and 93; Peque 1936: 6-8, Pls. 19-24); 2-50 anthropoid coffins at Beth Shan Level VII-VI (I Dothan 1973: 143-145), and 3 two coffins from Lachish (Tomb 570; Tufnell 1953: 219 Pl. 126).

The emergence of anthropoid coffins at the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition was interpreted at one time to support the theory that Ramses III had settled Philistines as garrison troops in Palestine (Aubright 1932: 197-20; 509; I Dothan 1982a; G. E. Wright 1966). One of the clay coffins bore a "leathered" headdress (Beth Shan, Fig. 3-51) that was compared to the reliefs at Medinet Habu depicting the Philistines, Denyen, and Sikas wearing such headdresses. This led I Dothan to suggest the coffin contained Philistines (1977, 1982a) while Oren concluded that they contained Denyen (Oren 1973a). The anthropoid clay coffins at Dair el-Balah, however, date two centuries

earlier than those from other sites in the southern Levant, thus indicating that they were most likely used by groups other than the "Sea Peoples" who did not arrive until the twelfth century B.C. (Stager 1995a: 341). This led Stager to suggest that the coffins were initially occupied by Egyptians (Stager 1995a: 342). Neutron Activation Analysis indicates that the coffins from Deir el-Balah were made of local clays (Pearman, Asaro, and Dothan 1973: 149) and were not imported. The possibility exists that these coffins contained local Egyptian soldiers or officials stationed in Palestine (F. Dothan 1979: 104; Gonen 1992a: 29) or other officials serving the interests of Egypt. This seems to be supported by four Egyptian basalt stelae that were found at the site (Ventura 1987a; F. Bloch-Smith 1992), one dated

by evidence for the Egyptian origin includes their occurrence in Egypt proper, their limited distribution beginning in the late thirteenth century B.C. at southern Levantine sites with an attested Egyptian presence (figs. 6-18), an Egyptian-style head decorated on some with the hieroglyphic inscription on a Lachish coffin, and the high incidence of Egyptian and Egyptizing provisions (Bloch-Smith 1992: 35).

It is evident from excavations at Deir el-Balah that the anthropoid coffins were deposited with both external and internal burial goods. The external burial goods consisted of large vessels such as storage jars while the internal burial items included "local Canaanite, Cypriot, Mycenaean and Egyptian types or their local imitations" (F. Dothan 1979: 98). This supports the thesis concerning pottery. It appears that the imported wares, or locally imitated specialty wares, were saved and used for funerary and other significant occasions. There are also other prestige items associated with the cemetery at Deir el-Balah, including three alabaster vessels dating to the XIXth Dynasty and a large collection of bronze vessels reflecting the metal-work repertoire of New Kingdom Egypt. Other artifacts include jewelry (gold necklaces, pendants, spreaders, amulets and rings) as well as scarabs and seals. These items indicate, according to excavators, that "the cemetery was perhaps for high-ranking Egyptian officers or officials serving in Canaan, or for members of Egyptian garrisons stationed in strongholds in Syria-Palestine, or it may have served Canaanite rulers or dignitaries steeped in Egyptian culture" (F. Dothan 1979: 104). The provenience of these coffins during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. at sites with Egyptian architecture and high concentrations of Egyptian-type material culture (Beth Shan, Deir el-Balah) indicates that Egyptian presence was strongly felt in these centers.

Pendants and Amulets

Egyptian-style pendants and amulets are found in abundance throughout the southern Levant during the Late Bronze III period. McGovern (1983) has conducted the most comprehensive survey and typology of this category of material culture. Although he attempts to make no conclusions as to the religious or cultural significance of these items, he concludes that "Egyptian-related pendants and types greatly overshadow the Syro-Palestinian contribution; 83 percent of the total pendants and 70 percent of the types for Late Bronze Age Palestine are Egyptian related" (McGovern, 1983: 9). The statistics point to a large Egyptian influence during LB III corresponding to the increased military activity of the XIXth Dynasty (McGovern 1983: 30-118). The distribution of amulets and pendants include sites like Beth Shan, comprising 51 percent of the corpus, Beth Sheanesh (Gzer), Ta'athish, Meqorim, Tel Abu Hawam, Tel ez-Zuh, and Tel Beit Misim (McGovern 1983: 7-8), sites that exhibit other Egyptian influences. C. Hermony surveys 1333 amulets, 100 of which are unpublished, in *Ägyptische Amulette aus Palästina/Israel* (1994; Müller-Winkel 1987), providing another important reference work. The majority of LB III amulets are related to Egyptian deities Bes, Hathor, Ptah-Sokar, Tawert, Uraeus, etc. or hieroglyphs and, of course, the Egyptian presence/influence was strongly felt at these sites based on the distribution of this important aspect of Egyptian culture.

Scarab Seals

The scarab was known in ancient Egypt as one of the most popular of amulets. It was formed in the shape of the dung beetle (*Scarabaeus sacer*) and in Egyptian called *ḫpr* meaning "to come into existence." It came to embody the creator god who was self-engendered (D. Ben-Tor 1983: 9). Scarabs were usually made of precious stone, metal, or pellets and strung on a cord (Platt 1992: 823) or worn as rings (Adreol 1975: 160; cf. Banerji 1984). The carved flat surfaces make them especially important: they contain inscriptions of names, titles, slogans as well as animal and geometric designs. These inscriptions and other features make them significant for dating purposes.

Scarab seals are commonly found in the southern Levant especially during the Late Bronze Age when royal name scarabs are common (Rowe 1936; Horn 1962; 1966; 1973; Givon 1985; Givon

and Kertesz 1986; D. Ben-Tor 1989). Nineteenth Dynasty scarabs have been found at sites such as the Tell el Ajjul cemetery 1, Ramses II Petrie 1933: 5, Pl. 8-4; Akko 3 Ramses II, Givon and Kertesz 1986: 20, Pls. 52-53; Ramesside Givon and Kertesz 1986: 20, Pl. 41; Aphek 3 Ramses II, Givon 1988: 54-55, Pl. 53; Ramesside Givon 1988: 46-47, Pl. 40; Ashdod 9, Area G Brandl 1993: 133-138, nos. 9-11; Beth Shean 25, Level VII Ramesside James and McGovern 1993b, Pl. 16.1-18; Ramses IV James and McGovern 1993b, Pl. 16.5-8; Level VIII 3 cf. Weinstein 1993: 221-222; Beth Shean 1 Ramesside Rowe 1936: no. 660; Deir el-Balah cemetery 12, Ramses II 1 Dothan 1979: 27, Pl. 64; XIXth Dynasty, 1 Dothan 1979: 86-87, Pls. 206-214; Lachish 7, Ramesside Givon 1988: nos. 94-96-98, 102-103, 107; Tell Masos 1, Seti II Brandl 1992, Fritz 1983a: 41; Quneishah tomb Ben-Ami, Ben-Tor, Gorenvitz 1993: 82-83; Tell Sera 2 Stratum IX, Orr 1984b: 41, Fig. 7.7-8; and Timna 19; Ramesside, Schulman 1988: 137-139, nos. 182-188, 191, 193.

The wide distribution of scarabs in cemeteries and other archaeological contexts and the fact that the largest quantities are found at sites that already exhibit evidence of additional Egyptian architecture and material culture (Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah, Lachish, Tell Sera, and Timna) corroborate the thesis that Egyptian presence/influence was a major factor throughout these sites of the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition.

Hieratic Inscriptions

Ostraca containing hieratic inscriptions are exceedingly rare in the land of Canaan (Goldwasser 1984: 77). While only four sites in the

¹⁰ Scarabs are also often used by archaeologists for chronological purposes (Ward and Dever 1994; Ward 1984, 1987, 1994). Royal-name scarabs, containing the name of an Egyptian king, are of obvious importance if found in an archaeological context. However, the use of scarabs for purposes of chronology is not without variations. It was customary to use an Egyptian name long after the life or reign of that king, and scarabs continued to be manufactured in the southern Levant because of the special ideological properties that came with a certain name (Givon 1978: 102). Thus, scarabs were often used as heirlooms for generations after the reign of a particular king. These interpretational problems relating to typology indicate that scarabs of the Late Bronze Age provide a *terminus post quem* for a given stratum (cf. Brandl 1982). Despite the continued refining of scarab typology and possible local manufacture, they represent an important factor in measuring the influence and possible presence of Egypt in the southern Levant.

southern Levant have produced hieratic inscriptions. Deir el-Balah, Lachish, Tell Haror, and Tel Sera (Goldwasser 1984: 194, n. 19911; S. Wimmer in press) — the quality and content of the inscriptions are significant in understanding the nature of Egyptian presence in the southern Levant. The Tell Sera inscriptions consist of about a dozen inscribed sherds found in Late Bronze Age contexts at the site. One bowl is translated "b3 . . . which . . . southern J of regn, year 22 + x record . . . grain measured in the first(?) quadruple *hkt* making 460 sacks" (Goldwasser 1984: 77). The others are more fragmentary but are related to the grain offerings presented as votives in temples (Goldwasser 1984: cf. Carroll 1994). The Lachish ostraca were not found *in situ* or very near to the Fosse temple (Goldwasser 1984: 85; cf. Gilula 1976; Goldwasser 1991b) although there are several bowls in the floors of the temples that are typologically similar (Lissakov 1978a: 19). Goldwasser concludes that "all these bowls undoubtedly played an important role in the rituals of the temples, most likely as containers for the offering presented to the temple god or gods" (1984: 85). Another sherd found in the Late Bronze occupational debris at Lachish contains the word *ss* "sinner" (Goldwasser 1984). This may indicate that Egyptian or Egypta-trained scribes resided in the southern Levant, keeping record of economic transactions for Egyptian interests. These inscriptions constitute the first documentation from Egyptian sources in Canaan itself concerning administrative practices connected with grain. Much of this archive may have remained in Canaan where it was transferred to the *Sinai-point* and used there for the sustenance of the Egyptian troops and all those belonging to the administrative network (Goldwasser 1984: 86; cf. Gardiner 1941; Helek 1963: 632; Seligman 1964: 63-64; Rothemann 1972: 155; Ahituv 1978: 96-97).

Summary

From the above survey of research it is evident that Egyptian influence and presence in the southern Levant is well established during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition period (XIXth-XXth Dynasties). Several interpretations of this evidence have been suggested.

Petrie cf. Goldwasser 1991: 248 note 1, alluded to a hieratic inscription from Tell el-Far'ah S but it has never been published.

According to Weinstein (1981) these aspects of Egyptian presence as attested both textually and archaeologically are cited as evidence for Egyptian dominance over the region. The reasons for this dominance have been debated. Ahituv (1978) maintains that the primary concern of the Egyptians lay in the geographic position Canaan offered as an overland link between Egypt and the rest of Western Asia. He deemphasizes an economic interest by stating, "It is indeed probable that there was no economic interest in the Egyptian conquest of Canaan, and if such an interest existed it was very limited" (Ahituv 1978: 104 *contra* Allright 1973a: 106). He bases his conclusion on the written materials available from the Amarna period, various economic and administrative documents, as well as later campaign records.

Na'aman (1981) responds to Ahituv by demonstrating that Canaanite vassals contributed vast sums in silver and personnel as tribute to their Egyptian overlords. Na'aman further points out the process of intensification of Egyptian activity that takes place in the thirteenth century following Amarna. These sites such as Ajlun, Beir Shan, Lachish, Tell Sera, Tell Masos, Deir el-Balah and Timna were able to flourish during the last stage of the Late Bronze period (Na'aman 1981: 185).

The effects of Egyptian presence in Canaan, regardless of its motivation for expansion, has been viewed in various ways as well. Allright stated that "the wealth and culture of southern Canaan decreased rather steadily under foreign misrule until it reached an extremely low ebb in the thirteenth century" (1973: 10). Later he maintains that "the regular tribute alone must have been an extensive burden" (1973a: 10). Knaflitz on the other hand suggested that "by the last years of the Eighteenth Dynasty . . . almost every town from which there is evidence in the Middle Bronze Age was once more flourishing and some . . . had even newly established" (1973: 556).

These opposing views concerning Egyptian interest and its effect in the southern Levant have been addressed by Gonen (1984). She suggests in her study of site distribution and demographics that Late Bronze Age culture never regained momentum after the end of the Middle Bronze Age. The increase in small settlements, she argues, "served Egyptian imperialistic intentions" (Gonen 1984: 10).

In most of the current discussion terms like "empire" Weinstein 1981, "imperialism," and "colonialism" Oren 1984b seem synony-

mons and occur virtually without definition. The wealth of scholarship in the social sciences is not cited (Eiserstadt 1979; Ekholm and Friedman 1979; Bartel 1983; but see Kemp 1978; S. J. Smith 1991).

This has led most recently to Carolyn Higginbotham's dissertation (1993; cf. 1996; 1998). She challenges the concept of "empire" as applied to Egyptian domination during the Ramesside period. Employing an elite emulation model based on recent studies of core-periphery interaction (cf. Renfrew and Cherry 1986; Champion 1989), Higginbotham investigates the nature of Egyptian material culture in Syria-Palestine and proposes that the application of "empire" to the phenomenon occurring in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age is inaccurate. Her analysis of the archaeological material culture and related textual evidence leads her to the conclusion that elite emulation is preferable to direct rule (Higginbotham 1993: 488, 1996; 1998). Her model of elite emulation attributes the Egyptian-type architecture and material culture to the local, indigenous population. According to Higginbotham, they produced and built it as an attempt to emulate the Egyptians whom they viewed as culturally superior. However, such an interpretation does not take into account several important aspects:

The well-written literary descriptions need to be accounted for in the context of Egyptian "governor's" residences and the economic structure that seems to have existed in the western Negev and Shephelah. Architectural features, such as temples (Emma and Serabit el-Khadem) must be accounted for and other textual references to temples at Ashkelon and possibly Aphek explained. The high occurrence of stellar plaques and monumental inscriptions claiming military victory and domination over specific sites certainly indicates more than elite emulation. Even the pottery and alabaster evidence that Higginbotham collects and presents may be interpreted to support Egyptian presence rather than elite emulation. All of these factors seem to favor a much stronger Egyptian presence in the southern Levant during the XIXth Dynasty.

From the previous discussion and assessment of the archaeological evidence of Egyptian presence in the southern Levant, several issues emerge. (1) Egyptian interest in the southern Levant is under discussion. Hypotheses for Egyptian involvement include economic interests (Albright 1949; Na'aman 1981) or geographical control for reasons of access to neighboring areas (Ahmuv 1978). (2) The interaction between Egypt and the southern Levant has been viewed as debilitat-

ing Albright 1949: 975a; Gonen 1984; Singer 1988) or conducive to further development (Kenyon 1973; Na'aman 1981; Liebowitz 1987: 3). The nature of such activity has been questioned, producing models of imperialism/nationalism (Kemp 1978; Na'aman 1981; Oren 1984b; McGovern 1985; Singer 1988-89; A. Mazar 1990c: 232 note 1, 5-1; Smith 1991; Weinstein 1981, 1992a; Dever 1992; Knapp 1992: 94) or elite emulation viewed within a model of contemporary interaction (Haggitham 1993, 1996, 1998).

Although treated marginally, most of these discussions are more concerned with the effects of Egyptian presence on the material culture of Palestine in general, rather than on addressing Egyptian military activity. Questions regarding the nature of Egyptian military activity during the Nineteenth Dynasty, its effects on the archaeological record, and its relationship with Egyptian presence in the southern Levant in general remain an open area of inquiry. Do the destructions compare with the Egyptian perception of events and chronologically with those sites mentioned in Egyptian accounts? Can the wide-scale destruction that engulfs the eastern Mediterranean during the transition be partially attributed to the campaigns of the Egyptians?

The preceding survey of architecture and material culture suggests that the Egyptians had a strong interest to dominate the region for economic, political, and even ideological reasons. Egypt's interest was to provide a sense of *ma'at*, truth, justice, order, in these territories while fulfilling its economic interests through taxation and trade. The thesis that Egyptian military activity was a response to rebellious and unruly elements that worked against these interests negates against the wholesale destruction of cities and populations that were the source of revenue and part of a larger socioeconomic structure. Indeed, the military actions described so vividly during this last period of Egyptian domination attest to the resistance Egypt was facing for other internal and external reasons. An assessment of the archaeological and chronological basis for military activity during the individual reigns of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Merenptah is a significant part in addressing these issues and will be discussed in the following sections.

SETI I

General Chronology

There is no clear accession date for Seti I nor is the length of his reign known. Helck 1966: 233-34; Murnane 1975: 1975-76: 26-27; Spalinger 1979a. His accession date was placed by Helck 1966: 233-234 at 3 Shomu 24, a holiday late upon which the "Procession of Seti" occurred. Murnane 1975-76 argues against this date suggesting the temporal boundaries in which the accession must be placed. Murnane's main point of opposition is that accession dates must be on newdays. The date 3 Shomu 24 was not a holiday since there is evidence that work was carried out on that day in the Year 14 of Ramses II. But there are some weaknesses in this argument. As Spalinger has pointed out, "it is not clear that a holiday for the workmen at Deir el Medinah meant a holiday for individuals engaged in private transactions or deliveries of goods and vice versa" (1979: 24). Furthermore, there is some question as to whether such a holiday occurred on the accession or the coronation date. In the end, Spalinger accepts Murnane's suggestion that the accession occurred sometime between 3 Shomu 18 and 4 Shomu 23, but attempts to further define the accession date based on Seti's campaign into Asia. He places the date closer to 4 Shomu 23 (1979a: 240).

The length of the reign of Seti I is also vigorously debated. The Gebel Barkel stela provides Year 11, so that one can assume a reign of at least ten years, although it has been suggested that the reign of Seti I lasted for 14 to 15. Hornung (1964: 36-41) or 15 to 19 years. Helck 1966: 239-70 based on the traditions of Manetho. Bierbrier has posited a length of not under 15 years (1972) but his suggestion has some problems. Based on Manetho, the 15-year hypothesis has received some acceptance in recent years. Kitchen 1987: 40; Krauss 1987a. Others have opted for a shorter reign for Seti I. These include Wentz and van Sicleu (1976: 233) who follow Reuflont (1967: 208-213) for a

His reconstruction of the phenomena of Seti I on the Munich statue of Bakendkhonsu I has merit but has not gone without opposition. Another possibility could be Ramses I, whose prenomen also includes the *mnsm*. In addition, Bierbrier does not take into account the possibility that the time span mentioned on the statue actually represents a longer reckoning including Bakendkhonsu's year in which he changed office and the year in which he concluded it. Wentz and van Sicleu 1976: 233. For these reasons the longer dates are also rejected by Murnane (1975-76). Most recently after a masterful review of the evidence, it has been argued that the biography of Bakendkhonsu can no longer be used for the calculation for the minimal length of the reign of Seti I. Jansen-Winkel (1985: 225) or Schoske 1987.

reign of 10 years and recently Helck who revised his earlier position (based on the Gebel Barkal Year 11) and argues for 11 years (Helck 1987: 49-26, but see Kitchen 1989a: 173) who correctly points out that Helck's dates imply a 12 year reign bringing him closer to 13 years. Further complications may result from the alleged coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II (Seele 1943, but see Murnane 1971: 1977). The debate concerning the accession date and length of reign directly affects the chronology of the campaigns of Seti I. The parameters of this study include primarily the campaigns of Year 1 for which the accession date remains crucial (Murnane 1990: Kitchen 1989a: 276-277). The length of the reign is less important for reconstructing the military campaigns into the southern Levant.

Toward a Chronology of the Asiatic Campaigns

The campaigns of Seti I into the southern Levant are largely recorded on the exterior north wall and exterior to the north sides of the east and west walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak so that they are perfectly symmetrical (Wieszinski 1955: II Pls. 34-36; Grubb 1976: 100; Murnane 1990: 36). Originally the scenes occupied three registers on each side of the doorway. However, the top registers are no longer completely preserved, their remnants lying scattered at the base of the walls (Broadhurst 1989: 230). The temple was begun by Seti I and finished by his son Ramesses II. Other commemorative military accounts include the First Beth Shan Stele (dated to Year 1 and the undated Second Beth Shan Stele). Topographical lists including names from the southern Levant are located at Karnak (Simons 1937: Lists XIV-XIII, the El Quatreh Temple (Simons 1937: List XV, plus matching list *ARE* I 34-35, Abyssos (Simons 1937: List XVI, the Karnay Temple (Simons 1937: List XVII, and a list at Sescha (Simons 1937: List XVIII).

A major issue continues to revolve around the chronology of Seti I's campaigns. Much discussion has centered on (1) the order of the reliefs recorded at Karnak; (2) the number of campaigns taken into the southern Levant; and (3) how these campaigns fit into the events of Seti I's reign.

The detailed discussion surrounding the campaigns of Seti I began with the publication of Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*. Breasted (*ARE* 3: 48-43) suggested that the order of the registers began with the march through southern Palestine and the victory against the

"foes of *Syri*" the register labeled year 1. Breasted's scenes 1-2. According to Breasted, Seti I continued in the same campaign to Pa-Canaan and onward to Yeno'am and as far east as the Hauran; then "westward along the Phoenician coast as far as Simyra and Uduza." Breasted *ARE* 3-40. Breasted interpreted all of these designations as part of a single campaign in Year 1, although he did allow for the possibility that each register represented a single campaign. If this was the case, then as many as four Asiatic campaigns including the Hittite may have taken place. Breasted *ARE* 3-40-41 note c.

Gardner concurred with Breasted that in all likelihood several campaigns took place, "possibly even one for each register" (Gardner 1920: 100). He reconstructed the campaigns in the following manner. The first campaign took Seti I against the "foes of *Syri*" and Pa-Canaan. Gardner doubted that Yeno'am depicted in the middle register was encountered in this first campaign but thought it was part of a subsequent one (Gardner 1920: 100). Naturally, Gardner was not yet privileged to know of the First Beth Shan Stela (dated to Year 1 in which Yeno'am is specifically mentioned as it was found by Rowe in 1923 (1929a: 83; 1930). This confirms that the register concerning Yeno'am still reflects the campaign of Year 1. Gardner was mostly concerned with the forts along the route of Seti I and does not comment further on the other registers except to say that Laoya probably represents a separate later campaign.

Several years later Faulkner (1947) returned to the topic of the wars of Seti I, also maintaining that Breasted was correct in assuming several separate campaigns, as he viewed the registers as representing a chronological order that began with the bottom register on the east wall from the doorway, the *Syri* campaign. Moving upward he included the "capture of Yeno'am" and the extension into Lebanon (Faulkner 1947: 35). The top register is lost, but this register, Faulkner suggested, portrayed the conquest of at any rate a portion of the Ammonite coast lands of which Simyra was the most important seaport and represents the second campaign (Faulkner 1947: 37). For the reliefs to the west of the doorway Faulkner followed the registers from top to bottom so that the Hittite campaign occurred last. Faulkner suggested that the third campaign of Seti I included the capture of Kadesh on the Orontes and a further push to conquer Amurru.

The upper portion of a stela of Seti I was found at Kadesh and supports Kadesh of the Orontes as the toponym mentioned in the reliefs of Seti I rather than the Galilean Kadesh (Pezard 1922: 108-109; cf. Breasted *ARE* 3-71 note a).

The middle registers on the west side depict a separate campaign against the Libyans. Faulkner disagreed with Breasted that this campaign occurred in Year 2, but suggested that it may have taken place after the campaign of Kadesh. The Hittite war is viewed as the last campaign. Thus, Faulkner argued for four Asiatic campaigns and one Libyan campaign. While the Libyan campaign occurred before the war with the Hittites, Faulkner did not clearly indicate when each campaign occurred. One is led to believe that all campaigns occurred in Year 1 since he rejects the view that the Libyan campaign took place in Year 2 and provides no further comment.

The debate has continued to the present. In an investigation of the narrative art of the Egyptians, Gaballa (1976) discusses at length the war reliefs of the Ramesside kings. Each register recorded in Karnak during the reign of Seti I is interpreted by Gaballa as referring to separate campaigns, thus six in all, in an ascending chronological order on both the right and left sides (Gaballa 1976: 108-110). This would seem to correspond to the ascending order in other representations of the Ramesside period (Kitchen 1989b: 277). However, several problems remain unresolved with this interpretation. No scenes of departure are depicted on the second or middle register showing the campaign against Yenoam. This seems to give support to the possibility that the two registers were part of the same campaign (Spalinger 1979b: 5). This seems to be confirmed chronologically. The First Beth Shan Stela mentions a campaign against Yenoam dated to Year 1. Could Seti I have taken two campaigns in the same year (see Kitchen 1989b)? Furthermore, there are sufficient reasons to accept that the registers on the right side follow a descending chronological order (Mariano 1990; Kitchen 1989b).

Spalinger (1979b) follows the general outline of Faulkner (1947) by accepting five wars with Register IV immediately following III. He proposes a more definite chronological sequence, claiming that in Year 1 Seti I campaigned throughout southern and central Cisjordan (Registers I and II), the Lebanese coast and up to Amurru (Register III). The campaigns to the hinterland of Amurru and Kadesh occurred in Years 4 to 5. The campaign against the Libyans must have taken place by Year 6, as the one against the Hittites occurred by Year 7. Finally, in Year 8 Seti I led his troops against Nubia, not recorded at Karnak (Spalinger 1979b: 43). Thus the wars of Seti I in the southern Levant are seen as part of one campaign taking place during Year 1.

In the explanatory monograph accompanying the Epigraphic Survey's documentation of the reliefs of Seti I Murmane (1987, 2nd ed. 1998) provides the most extensive investigation of the campaigns. He concludes that the registers on the east side should be read in an ascending order and that the wars in Palestine should be divided into two distinct campaigns, one against the 'foes of Šet' and Pa-Canaan, the other against Yeno am. Murmane (1990: 70-76, 86). He is supported by Kitchen (1986) who suggests that both campaigns could still have occurred in Year 1. The first campaign against the 'foes of Šet' and Pa-Canaan, could have taken place during the embarking of Ramses I between 3 Shomu 24 and 1 Akhet 29. The second campaign to Lebanon and his dealings with Yeno am and the other enemies mentioned in the First Beth Shan Stele could have occurred between 1st through 3rd Shomu in Year 1. Kitchen (1986), 276-277. The missing register at the top of the east side (Register III) is filled with some of the toponyms mentioned in the geographical lists. Murmane makes the strong case for a descending chronology for the western registers, following Spalinger (1974b).

Broadhurst (1989) approaches the subject from an angle altogether new. He focuses on the composition and structure of the registers only. He criticises the traditional approach of maintaining that scenes which describe historical events are located furthest away from the doorway and that all registers have scenes leading to the doorway where prisoners are presented or slain before Amen. Broadhurst (1989: 23-31). Broadhurst (1989: 380-381). Gardner (1925: 19). Kitchen (1964: 48). Each of the registers, he argues, reflects a separate campaign. Broadhurst suggests that both the left and right walls should be read in an ascending order (1989: 233-234); however, he does not commit himself to a time frame for each individual campaign.

The most recent appraisal of the chronology of Seti's wars is offered by El-Saadly (1992). Accepting the accession date for Seti I as 3 Shomu 24, El-Saadly suggests that all of the battles recorded on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak refer to a single campaign in Year 1. In El-Saadly's reconstruction Seti I began his campaign against Šet before showing force in Canaan. Upon reaching Megiddo in the north, he used this as a base for dominating the inland towns of Rehob, Pella, and Yeno am and sent troops to deal with the Apiru tribes. Second Beth Shan Stele. Then the king moved north where he received the homage of the Lebanese chiefs of the coastal towns. According to El-Saadly, these chiefs did not appear to be

hostile" of Spalinger 1979b: 32, but rather "showed peaceful intentions toward the victorious pharaoh, to avoid suffering Egyptian anger" El-Saadly 1992: 287. Following this action he was free to move northward into Hittite territory and attacked Kadesh, as well as the coastal cities of Amurru to Ugarit. Then he turned back to Egypt, but on the way heard of a rebellion and seizure of Beth Shan. He sent three columns against the rebellious cities (First Beth Shan Stele before returning to Egypt, where he presented his prisoners and booty to the god Amun El-Saadly 1992: 287).

Although this scenario seems logical on the surface, there appear to be major difficulties. First, El-Saadly does not seem to take into account the order of the registers. The Libyan campaign that appears between the Kadesh and Hittite registers is not explained. Certainly this represents some chronological break (Gaballa 1976, Spalinger 1979c, Kitchen 1989b). Even if it does not constitute a break, it would follow in El-Saadly's interpretation, that this campaign also occurred in Year 1. But it does not fit within the chronological sequence. Seti I could not have been in two places at once, although it would be possible that his armies were. Furthermore, El-Saadly simply inserts information from both the Beth Shan stele and topographical lists without commenting on his methodology for reconstructing the campaign in this way. Spalinger's caution that the topographical lists are "distorted" and must "at first be employed independently of the historical data" should apply in this case (Spalinger 1979b: 37). Indeed, the earliest statement by Breasted still seems valid: "It is absurd to suppose that Seti I completed a war with the Libyans, a campaign against the Shasu, the conquest of Palestine and some of southern Syria, and a war with the Hittites, and finally accomplished the return to Thebes, all in one year" Breasted *ARF*: 3-38. These problems demonstrate the difficulty in this proposed reconstruction.

The debate surrounding the war reliefs of Seti I can be summarized as follows. Concerning the order in which the reliefs are arranged, there is a consensus that one must begin with the bottom register, dated Year 1, to the east of the entrance and that the sequence ascends from bottom to top. It is the wall west of the entrance that has caused the most difficulty. Some have read the registers from top-to-bottom (Faulkner 1947, Spalinger 1979b, Murnane 1990) while others have argued for a bottom-to-top interpretation (Gaballa 1976, Broadhurst 1989). Several positions have been taken concern-

ing the number of campaigns depicted on the reliefs: 1. Two campaigns into Palestine in Year 1 (Registers I and II) and three later into Amarna, Hatti, and Libya (Murnane 1990: Kitchen 1989b). 2. One campaign into Palestine in Year 1, combining Registers I and II and four into Amarna, Hatti, and Libya (Faulkner 1947; Spangier 1979b). 3. Two campaigns into Palestine (Registers I and II) and four others, each register representing a separate campaign (Gaballa 1976; Broadhurst 1989; cf. Breasted *ARE*). 4) Only one campaign during Year 1 which include the activities depicted in all registers, stelae, and toponym lists (El-Saady 1992).

It is pertinent for this discussion to focus on the scenes and toponyms indicated in the first two registers of the Hypostyle Hall and other sources for this campaign(s), since these occur in the geographical region of the southern Levant (see Figure 12). It is the consensus that these campaigns occurred in Year 1 (ca. 154-153 BC), as the date on the reliefs indicates, establishes the chronological framework for this investigation.

Archaeological Correlates for Military Activity

Transjordan

The area of Transjordan is well-attested in the Amarna letters, particularly the regions of Ge<shu>r and Bashan (Kitchen 1992b: 23). Seven towns are mentioned from Geshur (EA 256), including Udanu, Adaru, Araru, Mesita, Magradu, Karm-anabu and Sarqa. However, during the subsequent reign of Seti I only the toponym Pe-la occurs in military accounts. A stele of Seti I was set up at Tell el-Sha'ab (Kitchen 1993a: 14; *ARE* I: 7). Unfortunately, only the top part survives, providing no date or historical detail (Kitchen 1992: 26). This leaves open the question of whether Seti I actually campaigned in Transjordan or whether he merely dealt with certain entities in that region from a further distance.

Palul/Pela

Occurrences and Contexts. The entity *phr/l* occurs a total of six times in both topographical lists and in the First Beth Shan stele of Seti I. It occurs twice on the Karnak list (List XIV: 54A; Kitchen 1993a: 23; List XIII: 49A; Kitchen 1993a: 26), on the north and

south sphinxes at the Qurneh Temple XV 15, Kitchen 1993a: 27; *ARL* I 33,14; XVa 13, 15, Kitchen 1993a: 28; *ARL* I 34,11; and on the topographical list at Abydos, List XVIa 2, Kitchen 1993a: 26; *ARL* I 32,10. The most specific occurrence is on the First Beth Shan Sarcia where it is included among the three cities that have rebelled and attacked Beth Shan (Kruwaten 1981). The pertinent part of the account is translated:

The despicable chief who is in the town of Hammath has gathered to himself many people, seizing the town of Beth Shan, and is joined up with those from Pella. He is preventing the chariot of Rehol from coming out. Then His Majesty sent out the First Division of Amun, Rucur-Bows, against the town of Hammath; the First Division of Re-Abouduig in Vabour, against the town of Beth Shan; and the First Division of Sutekh, 'Strong of Bows', against the town of Yeno'am. Kitchen 1993a: 10; *ARL* I 12:6-12.

It is important to note that in this action Egyptian troops are sent in response to the military activity of local leaders who have rebelled against Egypt's garrison city of Beth Shan. Possibly the king of Rehol was wanting to act in defense of Beth Shan but was not allowed to leave the city.

It is clear from the text that while Pella is mentioned as one of the cities joining in the rebellion (Kitchen 1992b: 26) it is not singled out specifically as one of those pursued by one of the divisions of Seth I. Instead, Hammath, Beth Shan, and Yeno'am are the subjects of military action and defense. The question remains: was the site of Pella actually affected by the campaign? This is a possibility since it is mentioned repeatedly in topographical lists. Troops were possibly sent there to quell the rebellion. However, it could be that the individuals joining up with Hammath were dealt with in the military action against that city. In that case, the site of Pella would not necessarily have been directly affected. The archaeological context at Pella may elucidate the nature of military activity further.

Identification. The identification of Tellat Fahl as ancient Pella was first suggested by Edward Robinson in 1852. The site lies about 19 miles south of the Sea of Galilee among the foothills of the eastern side of the Jordan Valley (R. H. Smith 1993: 1174).

History of Investigation. Small-scale excavations were carried out by Funk and Richardson under the auspices of the American School of Oriental Research in 1908. In 1964 the Department of Antiquities in Jordan excavated about eleven tombs at the site. The



Figure 12. Map of cities mentioned in the military accounts of Sen 1

1. Achor 2. Beth 'Anath 3. Beth 'Anath 4. Gaza
Tell e. Hammah 5. Hazor 6. Pithul 7. Tell Yim am

first major excavations were conducted by R. H. Smith of The College of Wooster in 1967. Interrupted by the Six-Day War excavations did not resume until 1979, when the college was joined by the University of Sydney with J. B. Hennessy and A. W. McNicoll as co-directors of the Sydney contingent. Over 34 areas were excavated at the site and surrounding vicinity from 1979 to 1995. R. H. Smith (1983, Potts *et al.* 1988, Edwards *et al.* 1990, Walmsley *et al.* 1993, Bourke *et al.* 1994, Bourke 1994).

Archaeological Data. The site was occupied during the Pre-Pottery and Pottery Neolithic periods, according to sherds and artifacts found. The Chalcolithic through Bronze periods are also well attested (R. H. Smith 1994: 11-8). The Middle and Late Bronze Age material can be divided into two categories: finds from the stratigraphic excavations on the tell and material from the tombs south and east of the site. The stratigraphic remains of the Late Bronze were excavated in Areas III and VIII. Recently, excavators and other scholars have spoken of the meager archaeological remains at Pella during LB II (R. H. Smith 1993: 1178; Knapp 1993b: 38-50). Knapp (1993b: 38) observes that during the Middle Bronze III-Late Bronze I transition, Pella remained densely occupied, while a "rural parochial material culture" characterizes the city during LB II. He submits that the stratigraphic evidence may support the theory of cultural collapse during this period (cf. Amis 1978; Weinstein 1981; Gonen 1984; McGovern 1987a).

a. Destruction Correlates. Knapp and Smith do not mention the recently excavated evidence of a total destruction during the terminal phase of Late Bronze III/Phase IV. Excavations during the course of the 1984 and 1986 seasons revealed a massive destruction extending over most of Area III, an exposure covering approximately 300 m² (Potts *et al.* 1988: 136-137; Smith and Potts 1992: 100). Conflagration was a major factor in the destruction. In Plot IIIp there appeared to be a succession of burnt levels, some perhaps representing collapsed ceilings (Potts *et al.* 1988: 136). The buildings affected in the destruction seem to be mostly domestic structures. The upper courses were made of mud brick. No defensive system dating to the Late Bronze Age was here excavated at Pella,⁴ leaving the question of the destruction of defensive systems an open issue.

In summary, the focus of the destruction was complete in the exposed LB levels. Although it cannot be certain from the current extent of excavated LB levels, it may be possible that the destruction encompasses the entire site (Smith and Potts 1992: 83). The extent of the conflagration includes all exposed areas where LB occupational deposits are found (Area III, 300 m²).

b. Chronology for Destruction. A preliminary assessment of the pottery indicates a corpus fitting into the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transi-

⁴ This may be due to erosion (Smith and Potts 1992: 101) or it may be that no defensive system existed at Pella during this period (Bourke personal communication).

tion as suggested by the excavators. A number of complete vessels that were broken during the conflagration were recovered from a large room (Locus 101; Potts *et al.* 1988: 138; Fig. 5.1). Some of the diagnostics include a shaved ware dipper/juglet with punched mouth (Fig. 11.4) – a jug and krater that are a fine, grey-buff decorated in red-brown paint, both displaying the common “palm-tree and ibex” motif (Fig. 11.2.b; cf. Amiran 1969: 161, 162, Pl. 8). These forms are typical of the Late Bronze III. The ceramic evidence does not give a precise indication of when this destruction took place in the thirteenth century. It may well have occurred in the latter half of LB III.

c. *Subsequent Activity* Structures in Plots IIIN, IIIP, IIQ, and IIR were rebuilt along architectural lines similar to those of the previous houses following the Phase IA destruction. Sometimes the orientation follows earlier wall alignments precisely (Potts *et al.* 1988: 137). The pottery of Phases C and Pella 2 sequence also displays strong continuity (Smith and Potts 1992: 100). In Plot IVI, at least three post-Phase IA phases were excavated but were so poorly preserved that reconstruction was not possible (Potts *et al.* 1988: 137).

The apparent movement toward collapse that has been noted in the stratigraphic remains at Pella is somewhat of an enigma when viewed together with the excavated tomb materials. At least seven contemporary tombs have been excavated in Areas VI and XI and range from MB III to LB II (Knapp 1993b: 35). The Late Bronze tombs are generally rich, with a large amount of pottery and other luxury items, including imported Late Helladic III A2/B and Late Cypriote II White Sup. Base-Ring ceramics (R. H. Smith 1973: 13–14). The recently discovered “Lion Box” also demonstrates the high level of craftsmanship and international influence (Potts 1986: 187). This may provide some evidence for ongoing connections with the Aegean and Mediterranean, contributing to the internationalism of Pella during LB II (Knapp 1989: 67, 1993b: 38). As Knapp (1989: 66) has suggested, Pella may well have been part of a more complex hierarchy of settlement in the Beth Shan valley.

Assessment It is clear from the archaeological data that the site of Pella suffered a major destruction during the Late Bronze III period. Both the Egyptian absolute chronology and the ceramic se-

This is a typical Cypriote imitation of a Cretanite dipper/juglet which is hand-made and knife-shaved and occurs throughout the Late Bronze II and III (Amiran 1969: 161). A parallel is found at Tell Abu Hawam Stratum V (Hamilton 1935: 47, Fig. 288).

quence indicates that it might be possible to connect this destruction with the activities of Seti I. But it is more likely that the destruction occurred at a later time in the second half of the thirteenth century or even in the first part of the twelfth century. Bourke's personal communication. Moreover, it has been argued that a correlation of this nature must go beyond chronological indicators. From a textual standpoint, such a destruction may not even have taken place. The First Beth Shan Stela does not state that an infantry division was sent to Peila, although it specifically singles out three other cities. It only states that Peila was part of the rebellion against Beth Shan. Although its numerous mention in the lists of Seti I must also be taken into account, there are difficulties archaeologically with assigning this destruction to Seti I. First, it must be observed that no Egyptian-type remains were to be found in Phase IA. Second, all exposed I.B. III areas were consumed by massive conflagration, a tactic not widely practiced by the Egyptians, who preferred open-terrain conflicts and used sieges only to draw out the enemy. Even when violence against the city was used, it revolved around the gates, as the topographic evidence considered in Chapter One clearly indicates. Conclusions concerning this tactic cannot be established since a gate system has not been uncovered at Peila. Together the factors seen at this time to weigh against the identification of this destruction with the military activity of Seti I, who may have met the residents of this city-state somewhere in closer proximity to their conflict at Hamath, Beth Shan, and Yeno'am.

Cisjordan

In addition to the First Beth Shan Stela, both the reliefs at Karnak and topographical hints indicate that Seti I encountered Cypriotes in Cisjordan. Seti I also ventured north into Lebanon, Syria, or Hatti, as the war reliefs at Karnak demonstrate. He would have traveled along the coastal highway, taking necessary detours as circumstances might dictate (Gardiner 1920).

¹⁰ The numerous scarabs found in tombs should not be indicators in this regard since they occur in another context (Rampel 1962). This, of course, is an argument from silence, and it would be stated that were such evidence to be found, these conclusions would require possible adjustment.

Akko

Occurrences and Context The mention of the entry 'k is frequent subsequent to the XII Dynasty. It is mentioned four times in the topographical lists of Seti I: twice on the Karnak list (last XIV 39A, Kitchen 1993a: 23; *ARI* I 29, 2) and on the Karnak list (last XIV 39A, Kitchen 1993a: 26; *ARI* I 4: 6, 7) and on both the north and south sphinxes at the Qusur Temple (last XV 13; Kitchen 1993a: 27; *ARI* I 33, 14; last XVa: 12; Kitchen 1993a: 28; *ARI* I 34, 11).

Identification This site is located on the southern fringes of Lebanon and is mentioned together with Lebanese cities further north (Zu, Tyre, and Kinnah) (Murnane 1980: 44). The ancient seaport city was located at the site of Tell el-Fukhar, 8 miles north of Haifa on the Mediterranean coast (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 16).

History of Investigation Twelve seasons of excavation were conducted at Tell el-Fukhar between 1973 and 1989 directed by M. Dothan with the assistance of A. Rahm and M. Artzy, under the auspices of the Center for Maritime Studies and the Department of the History of Maritime Civilizations at the University of Haifa. The later seasons were conducted as a joint project of the Center for Maritime Studies, the University of Marburg, Germany, and the Israel Exploration Society (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 18).

Archaeological Data Preliminary reports (M. Dothan 1975: 173, 174-6; 1977: 1981; Dothan and Goldmann 1993) indicate that the earliest occupation of the site dated to the MB I or II. The first two phases of the rampart fortifications system are dated to the MB II (MB IIa). Dothan and Goldmann (1993: 18) are in Area F, on the northeastern end of the site, a city gate was excavated. The gate was later slayed during the MB III at the upper part to form a flat area for the construction of buildings. Building A, a large public building that served as either a fortress, a governor's residence, or a temple, was probably founded during this period (M. Dothan 1975: 19). The mudbrick structure was two stories high and constructed in the

The earliest reference occurs in the Middle Kingdom Exekration Texts where the ruler of Akko, *Tymu*, is cursed as one of the many Canaanite princes threatening the stability of Egypt's rule (Posener 1940: 87, 88). A scarab found at the site from the XIIIth Dynasty has been cited in support of this identification (Goyon 1967: 34). Other occurrences include its appearance on the Karnak topographical list of Thutmose III (Simons 1937: 27-44) and its mention thirteen times in the Amarna letters (Knaflitz 1959: 8, 85, 88; 1962: 234-235; 243, 250; Rainey 1970: 366). It also appears on the topographical list of Ramesses II (Simons 1937: 117).

form of a broad-house with a deep niche in the north wall projecting outward, in which many pottery vessels were found in a layer of burnt organic matter" (M. Dothan 1977: 241). Beneath the floor an elaborately built tomb containing a woman and a child was excavated, yielding a large amount of pottery, some jewelry, and scarabs. The dating of this building seems to be uncertain; it is placed in one of the preliminary reports at the "end of the seventeenth century B.C." (M. Dothan 1977: 241), while later reports conclude that Building A "ceased to function at the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C." (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 21). According to M. Artzy, the earlier dating is more likely (Artzy personal communication a).

a. Destruction Correlates. The last phase of fortifications was composed almost entirely of sand. These ramparts probably continued to function into Late Bronze since the last phase of this sand rampart extended over the remains of Building A (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 18, 21). However, little material remains indicating occupation were present during this period and there was no evidence of a destruction. In addition, no Late Bronze walls or city gate were found despite this being a major focus of the excavations (Artzy personal communication a).

b. Subsequent Activity. The Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition was characterized by workshops as well as stone silos, granaries, and an apparent pottery kiln or metal production installation. This installation contained half of a Mycenaean IIIc.1b bowl on top of the floor (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 21). Artzy personal communication b. Areas A, B, and AB showed remains of a craft-production area, complete with workshop installations, a number of other installations, possibly kilns, and additional evidence of industry such as a unique pottery vessel with thick sides containing crushed murex shells. Pottery fragments were found *in situ* in the ashier debris surrounding the kilns, and in Area H a pit containing a complete group of local pottery confirmed the dating of the transition period. Area F produced another occupation of Mycenaean IIIc.1b. The excavators associate this pottery with the arrival of the "Sea Peoples" and, specifically the Sherden, who are mentioned in the *Ugaritic* of Amenem-Opet ca. 1100 B.C. as occupying the northern coastal region (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 21).

Assessment. There are some stratigraphic difficulties during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. The confusion concerning

the stratigraphy and dating of the buildings and phasing in Area A, which is crucial for this investigation, prohibits any definite conclusions at this time. It is hoped that the final reports will clear up this uncertainty, facilitating a thorough assessment of this period and its possible relationship with the campaigns of Senn I.

Beth 'Anath

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Beth 'Anath* occurs in four topographical lists of Senn I: at Karnak (Last XIII 59, Palmimpsest) *ARI* I 32, 5; Last XIV 94a, *ARI* I 293; at Qumch 1, Last XV 23, *ARI* I 33, 14; and at Abydos (Last XVI A3, *ARI* I 32, 13).

Identification. This toponym has been identified as Beth 'Anath (Breasted *ARI* 3:119; Altay 1984: 75; Gal 1992: 61–11), a confirmation of the specific site of Beth 'Anath is widely debated. Early identifications included Be'ana in the Beth-Hakkerem Valley (Albright 1923: 19–20; Be'ana in the Beth-Netophah Valley Alb 1926: 55–57; Tell Rosh 'Amarat 1953: 125–127) and Tell el-Hirbeh (Garstang 1931: 244–245; Aharoni 1957: 70–74), suggesting that Saged el-Bath in southern Lebanon should be identified as Beth 'Anath. He based his conclusion on biblical and classical sources.¹⁰ Based on the archaeological evidence, Gal (1992: 61) has favored Tell Rosh as the location for the Late Bronze Age city of Beth 'Anath, and placed the location of the classical city at Be'ana in the Beth-Hakkerem Valley, where both archaeological and historical data support it.

History of Investigation. Survey work was conducted at Be'ana in the Beth-Hakkerem Valley by S. Safrai and Z. Safrai (1973) and at Tell Rosh by R. Frankel and Z. Gal (Gal 1992: 61). Aharoni (1957) and Aharoni (1957) surveyed the Upper Galilee at sites like Tell Kadesh, Tell el-Hirbeh, Jis, Tell Rosh 'Amar, and Jaz. Only Tell Kadesh and Tell el-Hirbeh were occupied during the Late Bronze Age, even though other sites were founded during the Early Bronze Age (Aharoni 1957: 16–16; cf. Garstang 1931: 101–102). Gal has resurveyed these sites (1992).

Based on sources from the Hebrew Bible (Josh 19:38) and the classical period, the analysis of Aharoni (1957: 71) places the site north of Tell Kadesh (Tel Qadis) in the Upper Galilee. He supports this by Eusebius' statement in his *Onomasticon* that the distance between Caesarea and the village of Beth 'Anath is 5 miles (cf. Klostermann 1964: 24–26). Aharoni identifies Caesarea with Caesarea Philippi and establishes that the distance to Saged el-Bath is the same.

Archaeological Data. According to Gal, the Late Bronze occupation in the Upper and Lower Galilee was not as dense as once supposed by Aharoni (1957). Several sites identified as Beth Anath by others were not occupied during this period. Be'ana in the Beth-Hakkerem Valley, Safed el-Bath, Tell el-Hirbeh and Tell Ro'sh yielded LB pottery; however, Gal (1992: 61) points out that the former site does not exhibit the characteristic features of a tell or fortified city of this period. He posits that Beth Anath played a similar role to that of Shechem, as is reflected in the reference by Ramses II to "the mountain of Beth-Anath" and "the land of Shechem." Khushbek Stela as well as references in the Amarna Letters. These indicate that the names of these two toponyms extended beyond the limits of a town or settlement, encompassing an entire region. Further stratigraphic excavation is required at several of these sites in order to overcome the limitations of survey data and establish their occupational history.

Beth Shan

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Beth* is mentioned on the First Beth Shan Stela found at the site as one of the cities seized by the reticulous ones of Hammath, Pitha and possibly Yotnam (Kuchel 1993a: 10; *ARI* 132.8; see Pella, 124-125). It is also listed five times in the topographical list at Seti I twice on the Karnak list (List XIV 50A, Kuchel 1993a: 23; *ARI* 129.1; List XIII 51A, Kuchel 1993a: 20; *ARI* 132.1) on the north and south sphinxes at the Qurnah Temple (List XV 16, Kuchel 1993a: 27; *ARI* 133.11; List XVa 16, Kuchel 1993a: 28; *ARI* 134.3) and on the topographical list at Abydos (List XVI B1, Kuchel 1993a: 26; *ARI* 132.1).

Identification. The site is identified with Tell Beth-Shear (Aramaic, *Tell el-Husn*) located at the junction of the Jordan Valley road and the road leading from the Jezreel and Harod valleys to Gilad (A. Mazar, 1993c: 214). The identity of the site is confirmed by the Beth Shan stela of Seti I and another found there dated to the reign of Ramses II (Rowe 1929a).

History of Investigation. Beth Shan was excavated by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (1921-1933) directed by C. S. Fisher (1921-1923), A. Rowe (1923-1928), and G. M. FitzGerald (1930, 1933). The American excavations concentrated on the Early Bronze through Byzantine strata (Rowe 1927-1928).

1929b, 1929-30, 1930, 1940. In 1983 a short season was conducted by the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, directed by Y. Yadin and S. Geva, investigating the Iron Age strata. Yadin and Geva 1980. From 1984 to 1986 excavations were conducted under the direction of A. Mazar of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A. Mazar 1990a, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1997.

Archaeological Data. Archaeological excavations at Beth Shan revealed a long history dating from the Neolithic to the modern Early Arab periods. During the Late Bronze Age, after the LB IA period (pre-Level IX) archaeological evidence demonstrates the strong Egyptianization of Beth Shan. In Level IX a series of rooms and halls were built in to the north and south of a new courtyard which formed the base for a new cultic compound which was called by the excavators a "Canaanite temple" (Rowe 1930: 10, Pls. 16, 17, 57). The building is constructed of mudbrick on stone foundations with brick pedestals on their walls (for description, see Rowe 1930: 11-14). Although Rowe 1930: 10 dated this complex to the time of Thutmose III, concentrations of pottery indicated that this stratum followed his campaigns and should be dated to the fourteenth century (A. Mazar 1993: 2-6). A number of Egyptian-style vessels were also discovered, indicating that at this time Beth Shan appears to have become an Egyptian administrative complex (A. Mazar 1993: 2-10). One of the rooms had a bath covered with impervious plaster. It also contained four plastered steps. Another room in this same structure contained a basalt orthostat relief "depicting a struggle between a lion and a dog or lioness" (A. Mazar 1997: 68). It is in this stratum that the Mekal stela, a small monument dedicated to the Egyptian official Pa-Re-en-Hab in memory of his father, Amenemope, was found (Rowe 1930: 14, 15; Pl. 33; A. Mazar 1993c: 210; cf. H. O. Thompson 1970).

In the northeastern corner of the site a "small segment of a building relating to the later phase of Level IX was excavated which yielded evidence of a fierce destruction. . . . The evidence in this area indicates that Level IX was violently destroyed in the fourteenth century B.C., perhaps as a result of the riots against Egyptian rule which broke out in Canaan, encouraged by Egyptian weakness at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty" (A. Mazar 1997: 69).

The Israeli excavators relate a miniature clay cylinder found in 1993 to this same level (Horowitz 1994, 1996, 1997). The cylinder which contains an Akkadian inscription was found in secondary con-

text in the University of Pennsylvania dump on the western slope of the site. At first thought to be a cylinder seal, the Akkadian inscription has since been translated and is, in fact, a letter between two known vassal governors of the Amarna period: Tagi of Giti-Karnai and Lab'ayu of Shechem. Horowitz 1997: 97. It is known from an Amarna letter EA 289:18-24 that military personnel from Giti-Karnai were stationed at Beth Shan. Horowitz 1996: 214-215. This has led Horowitz to conclude that the cylinder "was written during a transitional period when Tagi was openly allied with Pharaoh, but still loyal to Lab'aya" Horowitz 1996: 213-214. Several possibilities exist which may explain the cylinder's presence at Beth Shan: 1. It may have been deposited there by Tagi's men before they could reach the new headquarters of Lab'ayu in the east; 2. Tagi himself could have written the letter and then discarded or lost it at Beth Shan; 3. Lab'ayu may have received the cylinder at Beth Shan; 4. The cylinder may have been discovered by forces sympathetic to the Egyptian king and been confiscated either in Beth Shan or en route. This may have been one of the factors leading to Lab'ayu's death (Horowitz 1997: 99-100). The cylinder and Amarna letters re-emphasize the fragile relationship between Egyptian domination and local resistance.

After the destruction of Level IX, Level VIII witnessed a re-planning of the cultic area which continued into the following two levels, VII and VI. Level VIII can be dated approximately to the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C., or contemporary with the reign of Seti I.²⁹ Although found in later contexts, the two stelae of Seti I (First and Second Beth Shan stela) made of local basalt are dated to Level VIII (James and McGovern 1993: 240; A. Mazur 1994c: 217, and see Dever 1992c: 17). Level VIII most likely lasted for only a short duration, perhaps corresponding to the ten-year reign of Seti I, whereas Level VII lasted for a longer duration which corresponds well to the long reign of Ramses II.

²⁹ Both persons are previously known from the Amarna letters, although never in reference to each other. The texts mentioning Tagi include EA 247:8, 263:33, 264:6-2, 265:4, 289:11, 19, 25 while those mentioning Lab'ayu are EA 237:2, 244:11, 20, 38, 41, 245:23, 246:15, 247:1, 248:1, 249:1, 250:6, 11, 14, 16, 26, 30, 36, 39, 40, 54, 252:3, 253:2, 255:5, 263:34, 289:30, 33, 28. (See 289:1, 2; see Moran 1992).

Rowe 1940 attributed Stratum VIII to the period before Amenhotep III, more than a century earlier.

a. Destruction Correlates. According to the recent excavations three major destructions occurred between Levels IX and VI. The first took place at the close of the fourteenth century B.C. and is described as a "fierce destruction" (A. Mazar 1997: 69). The second appears in Stratum VII and was accompanied by a "fierce fire" (A. Mazar 1997: 69). The second destruction came a century after the first. There were smooth transitions between the reigns of XIXth Dynasty rulers Seti I and Ramses II, indicating peaceful descending and rebuilding (James and McGovern 1993: 137) and the destruction of Level VII late in the thirteenth century B.C.

b. Chronology for Destruction. According to the excavators, the pottery and stratigraphy indicate that the first destruction of Level IX took place in the fourteenth century B.C. The ceramic evidence of the destruction horizon has not been published. This destruction, according to excavators, took place before the beginning of the thirteenth century – i.e. before the reign of Seti I and was "perhaps as a result of the riots against Egyptian rule which broke out in Canaan" (A. Mazar 1997: 69). Was this destruction the result of the attack by the city-states Hammath, Pella, and Yeno'am against the Egyptian garrison of Beth Shan according to the First Beth Shan Stela? Did these cities succeed to the extent of actually destroying (partially) the city of Beth Shan? This would clearly be the reason for the campaign of Seti I in Year 1 (ca. 1294-1293).

Subsequent Activity. After the destruction of Level IX Beth Shan was rebuilt according to an entirely different plan. Castles, "governor's" residences, and other important buildings indicate that this site again became an important Egyptian administrative/military center (cf. A. Mazar 1997: 69). A new temple was constructed along with domestic buildings (Levels VIII-VII Rowe 1940; James and McGovern 1993). Beth Shan was once again firmly established as an Egyptian center along the major highways leading north.

Assessment. The initial "fiery" destruction at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty (Level IX) indicates that military activity might have been taken against Beth Shan. As the excavators suggest, it is likely that this was the result of resistance and rebellion against Egyptian domination over the surrounding region. The textual evidence suggests that this be related to the rebellion described in the First Beth Shan Stela as being caused by the alliance of Hammath, Pella, and Yeno'am. Did these city-states attack and perhaps destroy (even partially) in the belief that they would overcome what was a weak

Egyptian force.³ Indeed, the evidence of the First Beth Shan Stela, which depicts the sending forth of one military division against Beth Shan, seems to indicate the defense of the city rather than its destruction contra Dever (1962c: 17). Whether this action was accomplished in one day as is related on the stela or not, it seems that Seti I saved the day rather than destroying the city. The recurrence of Beth Shan on the topographical lists indicates that the Egyptians perceived that the city remained under their control in subsequent reigns. In the end the possible defeat of Pella, Hammath, and Yenoam by the Egyptians may be what made possible the rebuilding of Beta Shan during the early reign of Seti I.

Gaza

Occurrences and Context. The ematy *ps An n* appears twice in Register I on the list at Karnak (Kitchen 1993a: 7, *ARI* 189, 15). Gardner, who studied the military route of Seti I, interprets this as the city of Gaza, indicated by the definite article *ps* (Gardner 1920: 104). His interpretation was followed by others (Faulkner 1967: 35-36; Givon 1971: 7; Heek 1971: 196; Spalinger 1979b: 44 note 6; Katzenstein 1982: 112; Moriane 1990: 40; Kitchen 1993a: 7, 14-15).

Identification. Gaza is identified with Tell Harise or Tell Azza located along the coastal plain about 3 miles from the Mediterranean Sea (Ovadiah 1993: 464).

History of Investigation. The tell was excavated by W. J. Phythian-Adams on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1922 (Phythian-Adams 1923a, 1923b, 1923c) and renewed excavations began in 1996 by the Palestinian Department of Antiquities and the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française*, although no preliminary reports have been published (Shanks 1997).

Archaeological Data. Phythian-Adams excavated three trenches revealing pottery dating to LB (Cypriot ring-base ware, white-slip wishbone-handle bowls, and part of a pointed juglet), Iron I Philistine Bichrome ware, Iron II as well as Roman and Byzantine periods (Phythian-Adams 1923a, 1923b, 1923c). Unfortunately further excavations did not take place to expose the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age periods. Because of the political situation, Gaza was not further excavated except for later remains (Ovadiah 1993). Several Egyptian artifacts were found in the vicinity of Gaza, including two inscriptions of Ramses II (Givon 1975d) and several finger rings

dating to Ramses IV, indicating its importance as an Egyptian stronghold (Givon 1977a).

Hammath

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Hm* appears on the First Beth Shan Stela (see Pella 124-125) where Seti I directs the "First Division of Amun" against the site which rebelled with Pella against Rehhah and Beth Shan. It also appears three times in the topographical lists of Seti I on the Karnak List 2 (List XV 14; Kitchen 1993a: 23; *ARI* 132: 2; List XVa 14; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *ARI* 143: 7), and on the Anydos list (reconstructed List XVII 7; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *ARI* 132: 1).

Identification. The toponym is identified with the site of Tel el-Hammah located 10 miles south of Beth Shan. Allbright 1926: 13-74; Wilson 1993a: 253; Helck 1971: 314; Aharoni 1973: 115; Aharoni 1984: 112-113.

History of Investigation. The site was surveyed by W. F. Albright from 1925-1926 (1926: 13-74) followed by R. Gophna and Y. Porath from 1967-1968 and N. Zori in 1977. Three seasons of excavation and survey were conducted by J. Cahill, D. Tarter, and G. Lapowitz under the auspices of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Archaeological Data. The site was occupied during the EB I-II, the EB IV, the MB I and II, LB I-III, Iron I and II and well into the Roman and Byzantine periods (Tarter *et al.* 1985: 41-42). Egyptian or Egyptian type "beer bottles" dating to the XIXth or XXth Dynasties were recovered during the 1984 survey (Tarter *et al.* 1985: 41). Three seasons of excavations have taken place from 1985 through 1988 in Area A comprising 360 m² of the site's southeastern quadrant. To date, excavations have revealed Iron I and II strata but have not penetrated the Late Bronze Age levels (Tarter *et al.* 1986: 30, 134-135; Cahill *et al.* 1987, 1987-88; Cahill and Tarter 1993: 501-502). Further excavation must be conducted before the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age horizon can be evaluated for the purposes of this study.

Hazor

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Hdzer* appears twice in the topographical lists of Seti I at Karnak (List XIII 64A; Kitchen 1993a: 23; *ARI* 132: 5; List XIV 64A; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *ARI*

1295.² It does not appear further in the reliefs, stelae, or other accounts. There remains, therefore, a lack of specific textual and representational evidence for Egyptian military activity taking place at Hazor during the reign of Seti I.

Identification. The site was identified with Tell el-Qedah by J. M. Porter in 1875 (Porter 1875) and reconfirmed in 1926 by J. Garstang (1927). It is located in northern Israel about fourteen miles north of the Sea of Galilee in the Huleh Basin (Dever 1992b: 78).

History of Investigation. Hazor was first excavated in 1928 by J. Garstang, who made trial soundings on the mound and the lower city. Extensive excavations were later conducted by the James A. de Rothschild Expedition under the direction of Y. Yadin of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1955 to 1958 with a follow-up season in 1968 (Yadin 1963, 1973; Yadin *et al.* 1958, 1960; Ben-Lor *et al.* 1989; Ben-Lor and Bonfil 1997). New joint excavations began in 1990 by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Complutense University of Madrid, directed by A. Ben-Lor (Ben-Lor 1993a, 1995a, 1995b; 1998).

Archaeological Data. The upper city of 30 acres in area was occupied from the Early Bronze Age through the Hellenistic period (Yadin 1993a: 586-603). The lower city spread out over another 73 acres and was occupied from MB III to LB III (eighteenth to thirteenth century B.C.; Yadin 1993a: 59). Hazor was by far the largest city in Palestine during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (Conen 1984: 66-68) and was a major center for trade and commerce during MB I-II (Malamat 1962). After a rebuilding of Hazor during LB I, this trade seems to have decreased during the subsequent phases of the Late Bronze Age (Bielkowski 1987: 34). The city gate in Area K was reused, as were some of the earlier walls (Dever 1992b: 5-9). The Area A rectangular temple was rebuilt. Bichrome ware and other common wares were found in this stratum (Yadin 1993a: 60) as well as bronze figurines, and a clay liver model with an Akkadian inscription (Landsberger *et al.* 1964). During the Late Bronze II-III, Hazor is said to have "reached the peak of its recovery" (Dever 1992b: 38). The fortifications continued, as did the temples in the

² It occurs first in the Egyptian Execration texts of the nineteenth or eighteenth century B.C. (Posener 1910; Redford 1992: 382) and later also in the epigraphical lists of Thutmose III as *Haz* (1332; Aharoni 1967: 248; Aharoni 1984: 167) that of Amenhotep II (Aharoni 1967: 255; Aharoni 1984: 171) and in the Papyrus Leiden 1116-A (Yadin 1993a: 59).

lower city. The Area H temple was converted from a bipartite to a tripartite structure. A new temple was erected in Area C that was especially significant. It had a semicircle of stelae of dressed basalt with a statue of a seated king or deity. The center stela also had a bas-relief depicting a pair of upraised palms pointing toward a disc within a crescent (Yadin 1975: 44-45).

The new excavations in the upper city, directed by Ben-Tor during the summers of 1994-1997, exposed a large palace. This palace was built of mudbrick, 15 x 38 x 38 m, on a stone foundation. It dates to the Late Bronze period. Ben-Tor personal communication. The use of cedar beams placed in the walls at irregular intervals, the lining of the walls by orthostats, the architectural plan of the palace, and several other details indicate to the excavators Syrian influence on the local architecture. Ben-Tor points to parallels between this building and the palace of Alalakh IV which is dated to the second half of the second millennium BC (Ben-Tor 1990a: 66-67; 1998: 459-460; Fig. 2; cf. Woolley 1955: 130-131, 135; Fig. 45).

a. Destruction Correlates. According to the initial reports in *Hazor I* and *II*, Stratum 1B, end of 1B II, ca. 1300 BCE, in the lower city seems to have ended in destruction. Yadin repeatedly refers to the destruction of City 1B (Yadin *et al.* 1968: 84-85). However, he does not indicate how or by what means it was destroyed. Furthermore, these early excavation reports do not describe the correlates of destruction. At one point Yadin simply hypothesizes that the missing masonry from a wall could have "collapsed at the destruction of City 1B" (Yadin *et al.* 1968: 84). The Area C, Stratum 1B temple was said to have been destroyed (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 159-160; Yadin 1975: 44). He states that the destruction is evident by the fact that "several of the stelae which were in it [Shrine B] at the time appear to have been thrown onto the slope of the rampart" and "were discovered in or on a layer of masonry debris" (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 9). Elsewhere in Area C, Stratum 1B, Room 6220 was full of masonry debris (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 99) and Room 6219 had traces of ash and cracked walls (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 100-101). The gate in Area K showed evidence of an ash layer, but excavators were uncertain whether it belonged to Stratum 1B or 1A (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 62-63). Nevertheless, Kenyon took the position that there was a major destruction: "Everywhere the buildings of Stratum 1B were found seriously destroyed" (1973: 538). Only recently has Bienkowski (1987) pointed out that the destruction of Stratum 1B is not as evident as was previously main-

tained. Bienkowski argues that several factors in the history of Hazor are obscure during the Late Bronze Age. According to Bienkowski, stratigraphic division between Strata 1B and 1A is often very unclear. Since the publication of *Hazor III II* and *Hazor I* in 1989 and 1997 respectively, a more complete examination of earlier excavated material is made possible.

According to *Hazor III II*, Strata XIV and XIII of the Area A temple in the Upper City are contemporaneous with Strata 1B and 1A in the Lower City. In Stratum XIV the Area A temple remained fundamentally the same as in the previous stratum XV. The only major change was in the entrance, which was lined and paved with orthostats similar to those from the Stratum 1A orthostat temple in Area H (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 18). The temple, the tower and the surrounding area did not witness a major destruction at the end of Stratum XIV. There is considerable continuity into Stratum XIII (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 2-22). In Stratum XIII no new floor was associated with the temple. In Yadin's view this meant that the orthostat temple and open area were obsolete in Stratum XIII, while Aharoni felt that the burning continued to be used (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 23). Stratum XIII ended in a major destruction that affected the orthostat temple and tower. Yadin concluded that the basalt pillar base and most orthostats in the northern area fell during this destruction. There were traces of burning on the floors of rooms 205b and 305. Mudbrick cobbles and evidence of burning can be seen in the sections in Loci 259b and 262a. The 1989 reports conclude that "Stratum XIII was the last Canaanite stratum in Area A, and was entirely buried" (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 25). No correlates of destruction can be reconstructed from the remains of Areas B and AB in the upper city.

In *Hazor I* (Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997) the report of the 1968 season, the relationship of the Area A temple stratigraphy is reassessed. Phases 9A-9D are tentatively identified on the basis of ceramic assemblages to Strata XVII-XV (Bonfil 1997: 50) where Phase 8 is correlated with Stratum 1 in the Lower City (Bonfil 1997: 72-73). Bonfil concludes that courtyard only consisted of one phase that did not extend to the end of the Late Bronze Age (contra Yadin 1972: 93, 104). The temple was "constructed during the course of LB I and ceased to be used before the end of LB II" (Bonfil 1997: 83). In other words, "The temple continued to be used at the beginning of LB II—that is during Stratum XIV" (Bonfil 1997: 108, cf. Ben-Tor 1989: 12, 18 contra Aharoni) or until Stratum 1B in the Lower City (Bonfil 1997: 84).

Massive destruction is much clearer in the upper city where the new excavations directed by Ben-Tor beginning in 1992 have uncovered a large palace which ended in "a huge fire, the intensity of which was augmented by the extensive use of timber in the walls. Temperatures were sufficient to melt part of the mudbrick walls and crack the basalt orthostats: a thick layer of ashes covers the floors" (Ben-Tor 1995a: 67). In some parts the destruction debris was more than 1 m thick (Ben-Tor 1995b: 13). This destruction is connected with one that extended over the rest of Hazor' (Ben-Tor 1995a: 67 and "the temples in Areas H and A" (Ben-Tor 1995b: 12).

In the lower city, the Area H temple was apparently destroyed at the end of Stratum 1B. The pillars of the Stratum 1B temple became obsolete in 1A and in their place new ones were constructed slightly to the north (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 257-258). The porch also was reconstructed in Stratum 1A although the extent of change is "difficult to estimate" (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 262). Statements are made in other places that there is considerable continuity from Stratum 1B to 1A (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 264). This does not clarify the question of whether there was a destruction or whether these changes simply indicate modifications to the building itself. In fact, no signs of conflagration were evident at the end of the Stratum 1B temple (Yadin 1993a: 598). The end of Stratum 1A is marked with a clear destruction in Area H as in other areas. The "resulting debris reached a height of over a metre on the floor of the holy of holies and was piled in the centre of the room" (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 248). The destruction of this temple marks the final phase in the series of temples that were constructed from the beginning of Stratum 3 onward.

The fortification system in Area K suffered a massive destruction as evidenced by a 1.5 m thick layer of ash and rubble on the cobblestone floor of the passageway consisting of the alien brickwork of the gate and towers (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 202-203; Yadin 1993a: 599). It is uncertain whether this destruction belongs to Stratum 1B or 1A. In terms of the fortifications there is no significant structural change between Stratum 1B and 1A and the stone pavement was likewise used in both strata.

b. Chronology of Destruction In the lower city the ceramic evidence for Strata 1B and 1A is almost identical. A distinction in phasing can only be made on the basis of architectural changes within Stratum 1. Because of this there has been some disagreement concerning the phasing of this occupation based on architectural and stratigraphic

relationships. In the final reports of the 1957-1958 seasons, *Hazor III* (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989), an attempt is made to clarify the stratigraphy.

For the gate and fortifications in Area K, the editors write: "I. Dunayevsky and area supervisor M. Dothan were of the opinion that the destruction which follows here relates to Stratum IB alone and that Stratum IA actually represents the situation after the destruction of the gate" (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 280). Thus, there is a discrepancy between the views of the excavators. The issue is this: Did the major destruction that occurred in Area K bring an end to Stratum IB (300 B.C.) or did it bring an end to Stratum IA (250-1240 B.C.)? Yadin attributed two destructions to Stratum I. The first, more ephemeral and poorly documented destruction at the end of his Stratum IB was attributed to Seti I; the second major destruction, which destroyed the gate area and the walls, he viewed as the end of Stratum IA and associated it with the Israelites. Dunayevsky, the site architect, and M. Dothan interpreted the major destruction to have occurred at the end of Stratum IB. The postdestruction remains were part of the unfortified settlement which followed (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 296-297).

In the Area H temple, a scarab of Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.) was discovered at the rubble of the destruction of the holy of holies (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 218-200; Pls. CXXIV, 2 CC LXXXIII). This would provide a *terminus post quem* for the destruction of Stratum IA.⁵ The ceramic corpus from this stratum included Mycenaean IIIb sherds and a Mycenaean IIIb formed animal figurine that was nearly complete. Area F also produced a few Mycenaean IIIb sherds. This evidence was used by Yadin to date the destruction to "not later than the last third of the 13th century" (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 160) or to "sometime before 1230" (Yadin 1979: 62). According to the Mycenaean IIIb pottery alone, the date may extend to 1200 B.C. How-

It should be noted that the scarab of Amenhotep III does not exclusively indicate a destruction of the city by this pharaoh. Scarabs were often kept as heirlooms long after the reign of the pharaoh (see Wasy and Dever 1991 and Scarab Seals, 112-113). It simply provides a *terminus post quem* for the destruction.

Yadin follows the chronology for Mycenaean pottery established by Furumark (1941). Wide stratigraphic finds from Canaanite sites indicate that the end of Mycenaean IIIb pottery dates to the last third of the thirteenth century (I. Dothan 1982a: 2, 8). This dating has subsequently been lowered, as the finds at Tel Deir Alla. The destruction layer which contains Mycenaean IIIb pottery also includes a broken Egyptian faience vessel together with the rowa carved by Tetwoser, the wife of Seti II. Confirmation is provided on the basis of C¹⁴ dates from a burnt roof beam

ever, others have recently posited a higher date to the first quarter of the thirteenth century B.C. Kenyon 1973: 138, Beck and Kochavi 1983: 38, cf. Dever 1993c: 133 based on the presence of carinated bowls of the Middle Bronze II tradition. The flexibility of the dating of this stratum must be considered when assessing the cause of destruction at the end of Stratum XIII/IA.

The new excavations in the upper city provide important chronological indicators for the date of the destruction. Certain artifacts in the destruction debris indicate an earlier date during the fourteenth century B.C. A statue of a sphinx with a lion's head was found incorporated in an Iron Age wall above the palace courtyard and has been dated by Egyptologists to the time of Amenemhet III (1843-1798 B.C., Ben-Tor personal communication a and b). The ceramic evidence, which includes finely carinated bowls, striped bowls, and krater sherds, seems to indicate the destruction of the palace in the mid-fourteenth century B.C. This date is confirmed by the most recent discovery in 1997 of a scarab dating to Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.). Found in the destruction debris covering the throne room, it provides a *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the palace and a crucial link to the destruction of Stratum IA in the Lower City (Ben-Tor personal communication b). According to Ben-Tor (1996b) the Egyptian statues and other material culture were defaced during the destruction of the palace. This suggests that the Egyptians were not responsible for the destruction but that this activity must be attributed to another group.

Subsequent Activity. Following the Stratum XIV destruction of the palace, little appears to have survived or been rebuilt in the upper city. The Area A temple may have been abandoned in LB II (as was Yadin's view; cf. Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 23, Bonfil 1997: 85). This virtual abandonment and destruction indicates that the upper city, which contained the main buildings for administrative and ritual purposes, was not in operation during the LB III period (Stratum XIII).

80 B.C. + 60; Frankfort and Kalsbeek 1960: 24) celebrating that Mycenaean IIB can be dated as late as 1200 B.C. The destruction debris at Ugarit (Dever 1993a) contains a sword bearing the royal cartouche of Merneptah (Schaeffer 1955; 1956: 169-179) appearing together with Mycenaean IIB sherds. After this destruction, Mycenaean IIB pottery no longer appears (Hankes 1961: 12-13) and Courtot (1974) held that Mycenaean IIC pottery appears after the destruction of Ugarit. Further evidence for a lower dating is to be found in Renfrew (1985: 261-280) and Freuch (1971: 51, 59).

There is a modest reoccupation during Iron I. The Stratum XII structures are scanty and makeshift in character: most of the area being occupied by ovens, paved areas, and narrow short parts of walls" (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1983: 25). Storage pits were also found throughout the site (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 25–26). This new settlement, which has been identified as "Israelite" (Yadin 1993a: 60), differs completely from the Stratum XIV–LB II city in its architectural nature and administrative purpose.

Assessment The destruction of the palace and abandonment of the Area A temple in the upper city seem to have occurred sometime during the second half of the fourteenth century B.C. This was a massive destruction which consumed the entire palace in a fierce conflagration. The temple in Area A was never rebuilt. It was accompanied by less severe discontinuity and rebuilding in the lower city Stratum 1B.

The ephemeral nature of the "destruction" of Stratum 1B in the lower city makes it nearly impossible to suggest correlates. Unlike the upper city, there was little or no sign of conflagration. The changes that occurred may simply have been changes in architecture due to other factors unrelated to military activity. Indeed, the degree of continuity present from Stratum 1B to Stratum 1A indicates that there was no cultural break until the end of Stratum 1A.

When evaluated in isolation, the possibility exists that the Stratum 1B "destruction" in the lower city was caused by Egyptian military forces. The destruction correlates in the lower city are consistent with the textual and topographic evidence for Egyptian military activity. However, if the Stratum 1B "destruction" is to be correlated with the destruction of the upper city, as has been suggested (Ben-Tor 1991a, 1991b), then these added correlates would cause difficulties. The Egyptians are said never to destroy by conflagration the cities or palaces in the southern Levant. Indeed, as Bienkowski correctly points out, there is no direct indication that Sen I destroyed the site of Hazor (1987: 59). The mention of this toponym occurs only on a topographical list without any further definite historical-textual context. Its occurrence could simply indicate a stop on the itinerary for Thutmose III (see Redford 1982a) of Sen I's campaign through Palestine. Moreover, the defaced Egyptian statues and other material culture indicate that they were not responsible for the destruction of the Upper City palace (Ben-Tor 1998: 465).

More importantly, the chronological evidence of the new excava-

tions in the upper city indicate that its destruction took place sometime prior to the reign of Seti I. Indeed, it is highly likely that its destruction occurred during the turbulent period described in the Amarna letters. This leads one to several possible causative agents for military destruction: 1. Conflicts between rival city-states in the region.¹ 2. The uprising of unruly and local sociocultural elements.² 3. The extension of Hittite power to the south, or 4. A campaign by Israelites.³ Ben-Tor 1998: 465. These known forces in the region, when combined with the nature of the destruction, would not gale against an association with Egyptian campaigns.

When Seti I ascended the throne some years later, he began a campaign throughout the southern Levant in response to the rising turbulence in the region. Seti I it was already known to the Egyptians that Hazor was having difficulties and that it was one of the major city-states of the region; it is obvious that it would have been listed on the topographical lists of Seti I. It is within this context that the appearance of Hazor may be understood. Already weakened by the destruction of the upper city, Hazor may simply have been one stop on Seti's itinerary to ensure its inhabitants of Egypt's support and continued protection during the years to come.

Yeno'am

Occurrences and Context The city *Ym* appears on Register II of the reliefs on the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. It is depicted in the reliefs as being close to a river and a forest from which soldiers peer as if hiding from the Egyptian forces (Wresznski 1935: Taf. 36). It is also mentioned on the First Beth Shalom Stela where it is stated that Seti I sent his "First Division of Sutekh, 'Strong + Bows' against the town of Yeno'am" (Kitchen 1993a: 10; *ARI* 1: 215). Finally, it is listed five times in the topographical lists of Seti I, at Karnak (2, List XIV: 17A; Kitchen 1993a: 23; *ARI* 1: 291; List XIII: 52; Kitchen 1993a: 16; *ARI* 1: 321), on the north and south sphinxes at the Q-meh Temple (List XV: 17; Kitchen 1993a: 27; *ARI* 1: 33, 34; List

Severus of the Amarna letters refer to the aggressive actions taken by Hazor against neighboring city-states. In one letter it is reported that "the king of Hasura has abandoned his house and has abhorred himself with the Apnu" (EA 48: 41; Moran 1992: 35). In another case, Ayyat reports that it is the ruler of Hasura who has taken three cities from me. From him have I heard and verified this, there has been waging of war against him, the king of Hazor" (EA 69: 1-2; Moran 1992: 36). The purported acts of aggression by the king of Hazor evidently met with resistance and even retaliation against his own city.

XV'a. 17 Kitchen 1993a: 28. *ARI* 134: 15, and on the topographical list as Abydos. List XV'a. 17 Kitchen 1993a: 26. *ARI* 134: 15.

Identification. The identification of Yeno'am continues to be a widely debated issue. Since it is mentioned in the Merneptah Stele between the toponyms of Gezer and Israel, it was most often assumed that the site was located in Cisjordan. In 1907 Clauss suggested that Tell en-Na'ameh in the Huleh Valley was Yeno'am. He was followed by Albright (1925: 12-13, 1926: 18-24) who maintained that the preliminary surface survey showed occupation through the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages.

Later Albright stated that the identification of Yeno'am with Tell en-Na'am (Tell Yit'am) as Saarsalo (1927: 112-118) had suggested, could not be possible due to its "excessively small size [less than 30 metres across]" (Albright 1929a: 10). However, Saarsalo was followed, in this identification, by a number of scholars. Ad (1928: 53; Jukn 1937: 33 note 4; Noth 1937: 217; Gardner 1947: 146; Horn 1948: 78; Heck 1968a: 28; Fritz 1973: 137). Tell en-Na'am is located among the hills of Yavne'el in the eastern Lower Galilee. Graessing (1933: 73) has proposed that Yeno'am was to be identified with Tell el-Abdylch located about 2 miles south of the Sea of Galilee in the Jordan Valley. This hypothesis was revived by Aramov (1957: 125-129; 1979: 65) who conducted some small-scale excavations which indicated that the site not only dated to the Late Bronze Age but also was situated near a river which surrounded the site and by a forest. These aspects seemed to correspond with the Sen Pt's Karnak scene of Yeno'am (see also Kallat 1967: 200). However, his limited excavations, due to their small extent, did not produce any detailed evidence for the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition.

In 1977 N. Na'aman rejected all previous proposals and suggested that Yeno'am was located in the Bashan region. He based his conclusions on several lines of evidence which included: (1) The mention of Yeno'am in an Amarna letter (EA 197) written by Biriyazawa of

Other references to Yeno'am in Egyptian texts include its occurrences on the topographical lists of Thutmose III (Wilson 1969a: 23-24 note 4; Amenhotep III (Faul 1966: 3-4) and the Merneptah Stele. The reading of Enas Yeno'am or the Papyrus Anastasi I has been suggested (Wilson 1969a: 477; Aharony 1957: 123, 128) but others have shown that this reading is not comparable with the Egyptian transcription of Yeno'am (Albright 1926: 2, but see Heck 1973: 6). Na'aman 1977: 170-171 cf. Caveon 1980.

The actual size of Tell Na'am is 80 x 85 m with an outlying terrace settlement of yet undetermined dimensions (Saarsalo 1927: 44; Liebowitz 1981: 79).

Damascus, placing it in a Jordanian context.² The usage of Yeno'am among other toponyms in Syria mentioned in the topographical list of Amenhotep III (Edrei 1906: 11-13; Helck 1971: 260-1; and 3). The fact that Yeno'am is listed in the topographical lists of Ramses II after Qama and Lahshi (Kitchen 1965: 6; Helck 1971: 132), again in a Syrian context. Based on this evidence he suggests that Yeno'am is to be identified with Tell esh-Shehab, situated west of Edrei on the Yarmuk river. A waterfall is situated in the vicinity (G. A. Smith 1901: 344). Perhaps most crucial to the argument of Na'aman is the discovery of a stela of Seti I found at the site (G. A. Smith 1901: 344-5). A surface survey conducted by Albright (1925: 16-19) produced sherds representing all the Bronze Ages.²³ Iron Age pottery is missing, which Na'aman states corroborates "the historical records concerning Yeno'am, which is mentioned in Late Bronze Age documents—but not hereafter" (Na'aman 1977: 109).

However, the mention of Yeno'am in the inscriptions of Ramses II is largely dependent on earlier sources and does not imply that Ramses II campaigned there (Ahlstrom 1984: 17-9). The mention of this toponym in both the Amarna letters, the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak, and on the Merneptah Stela provides significant evidence for a location in Cisjordan. Recent excavations at one suggested location, Tell Yn'am (Tell en-Na'am), have produced important results relating to the transition.

History of Investigation Seven seasons of excavation were conducted at Tell Yn'am (Tell en-Na'am) from 1974 to 1980 under the direction of H. Liebowitz of the University of Texas at Austin (Liebowitz 1977, 1978, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1987-88; 1989-90; 1993).

Archaeological Data Although material culture was collected from surface surveys from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, investigators have not located any occupational strata from these periods. Early Bronze architectural remains were found west of the tell and a patchy MB I surface was found just below the LB remains (Liebowitz 1993: 151). The site was abandoned until the late fourteenth century B.C. (LB II). During the LB II a series of four strata was uncovered during the 1977 and 1978 seasons, but only in square M/9 in Area B (Liebowitz 1981: 81). In LB III Stratum VIB a large palace was discovered. Building 1, that was later reused as an indus-

²³ Albright does not comment on the identity of Tell esh-Shehab, but he does emphatically state at an earlier point in the same article that Yeno'am should be identified with Tell en-Na'am (Albright 1925: 2-3).

trial installation. Eight rooms were exposed, four of which served as storerooms to the west of the building. The area east of the storerooms consisted of a broadroom with a secondary closed room at its western end (Lebowitz 1993: 1516). Storerooms 2-4 contained an abundance of restorable store jars, pithoi, kraters, and small jars. Room 3 had a collection of fine wares including Mycenaean cylinder seals, a necklace with an exquisite chalcedony lion pendant, faience and glass beads, and two Egyptian heart amulets.

Room 1 also must have served as a storeroom since a 10-cm-thick accumulation of charred wheat was found there. Excavators have maintained that this room was later turned into an iron-smelting installation during the thirteenth century B.C. (Lebowitz 1981, but see Rothenberg 1983). A single row of mudbricks was laid directly across the cobbled floor and dome-shaped furnaces were constructed against the walls. The analysis of the samples from the 1-m-thick accumulation "yielded 9 percent iron oxide, no trace of copper or bronze, and spherical iron droplets" (Lebowitz 1993: 1516).

a. Destruction Correlates. Stratum VIB ended in a massive conflagration and destruction. A destruction layer 30 cm thick had inclusions of ash, charred wood, fire-cracked rock, and buried and disintegrated mudbrick (Lebowitz 1993: 1516). It was found on the floors of all the major buildings and may have extended over the entire site.

b. Chronology for Destruction. The final Late Bronze Stratum (VIB) yielded store jars, jugs, and a Mycenaean IIIB stirrup jar (Lebowitz 1982: 114). The date for the primary Late Bronze occupation is dated by the excavator to the thirteenth century B.C. (Lebowitz 1982: 83-199), however the pottery from this stratum is not published.

c. Subsequent Activity. A relatively short period of time separated the destruction of Stratum VIB from the Iron I settlements. Some of the walls from Late Bronze buildings were reused and new floors were laid directly above the destruction debris (Lebowitz 1993: 1516). Six or possibly seven distinct Iron Age strata could be distinguished (Lebowitz 1982: 114) but cannot be analyzed due to the lack of final publications.

Assessment. Despite the rich evidence that indicates Tell Yim'am-Tell en-Na'am served as a major site during LB III ending in a violent destruction, Lebowitz does not commit to the identification of the site as Yero'am. Lebowitz (1981: 92 note 1) "Evidence positive for identification is not available at this time. However, the

nature of destruction – massive conflagration – does not comport with Egyptian military activity. According to the textual and iconographic evidence presented in Chapter One, it was not Egyptian policy to destroy the entire site by conflagration. This makes the identification of this destruction with Sen I Ramses II, or Merenptah unlikely. Furthermore, no evidence for fortifications exists at Tell Yiftam (Lebowitz 1993) but appears on the reliefs of the Hypostyle Hall (Epigraphic Survey 1986, Pl. 1). If this site is to be identified as Yeroam, then its destruction must be attributed to factors not associated with Egypt.

Summary

The preceding survey and analysis of toponyms indicate that numerous cities mentioned on the reliefs at Karnak, stellar, and the topographical lists of Sen I have been identified with known sites – both Transjordan and Cisjordan. Though most of these identifications are well established (Palm/Pella, Akko, Beth Shan, Hammata, Hazor and Gaza), others continue to be intensely debated (Yeroam, Beth 'Azath). Furthermore, several sites have not been adequately excavated (Gaza, Hammath, Tell Ro'ih).

A careful investigation of well-excavated sites indicates that the majority of them suffered a destruction that included massive conflagration (Palm/Pella, Akko, Hazor, Tell Yiftam). According to textual records, this measure was rarely employed by Egyptian military campaigns of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. This seems logical, since conflagration would not fit with the economic aims of Egyptian dominance over the region. It would be senseless to completely ruin down a site if one intended to have extended economic revenue from that site and its surrounding region. Of the few sites that might have suffered some destruction as a result of their rebellion against Beth Shan and Rehob, only Pella has been excavated to the Late Bronze occupation. But the First Beth Shan Stele does not indicate that any division was sent against Pella, only against Yeroam, Hammath, and Beth Shan. Beth Shan shows evidence of a major destruction with massive conflagration at the end of the fourteenth century B.C. Could it be that this destruction of one of the central garrison cities of the Egyptians provided part of the impetus for Sen I's campaign to the southern Levant in his first year? It is likely that the battle against these cities may have occurred out in the open. Indeed, the depiction of

Yeno'am in Register II on the northern exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall indicates that the war was being fought outside the walls of the city. The defenders are shown lying in the trees while others are running with their horses toward the city as if in flight. Several civilians are standing on the battlement of the city with hands raised in surrender as the Egyptians approach. It is possible that they were in the process of fleeing back to their strongholds and were encountered by the Egyptians just before they reached their cities. The texts do not indicate that the cities were destroyed. Further excavations at Hammat and a definite identification and excavation of Yeno'am would provide supplementary data. At this point the circumstances at other sites seem also characteristic of Egyptian military practices as indicated by the accompanying textual sources.

RAMESSES II

General Chronology

The dates for the XIXth Dynasty are largely extrapolated from the known lunar dates of Ramses II. R. A. Parker (1947; 1981, Casperson 1988). Five possible dates fit the lunar calendar for the accession of Ramses II: 1304, 1301, 1296, and 1279 and 1276 B.C. Krauss (1989: 16). Kitchen (1987: 39). Rowton an Assyriologist attempted to make a correlation between Mesopotamian chronology and the reign of Ramses II by looking at the background of his treaty with the Hittites, Hattusilis III. (Edel 1953a) and maintained the high chronology (1304 B.C. Rowton 1979; 1980; 1981). However the first date of 1304 has been ruled out, according to Kitchen (1987: 39) but see Hayes (1972a; Rowton 1979; 1980; 1981; Redford 1973; Ward 1992a). Most specialists support the middle or low chronologies with

¹ For a possible coregency of Ramses II with Sen I see Seele (1910; Mariani 1975: 197).

² Kitchen argues against the high chronology and the 1304 date by maintaining that to add 25 years to the basic reign of the Ramesside kings cannot be justified (Schmidt 1973: 2). It causes "serious problems in genealogies, generation-counts, and realistic ages for people in office" (1987: 39). f. Bierbrer (1978). Bierbrer (1978) was convinced, on Emar modern Medinet in Syria, making its destruction with Carthage and other Syria-Hittite sites which were presumably destroyed during the raids of the Sea Peoples in Year 8 of Ramses III, casting "strong doubt on the 1304 B.C. date" (1978: 136).

the dates of 1290 B.C. (Rowton 1948; Hayes 1959; R. A. Parker 1957, 1981; Hornung 1964; Redford 1966; and 1279 B.C. (Bierbrier 1975, 1978; Wenig and Van Seters 1976; Helck 1987; Kitchen 1988, 1987, 1989a, 1992a, Caspersen 1988), with a certain consensus emerging in recent years for the low chronology (but see Krauss' ultra-low chronology). The genealogical/generation count data (Bierbrier 1975) clearly stand in favor of 1279 over the other dates. This change from the 1290 to 1279 corresponds well with the recent shift in Mesopotamian chronology (Brinkman 1970: 303-307).

It is apparent that there have been numerous changes in position over the years. The complexity of the issues involved contribute to these changes, however, it should be noted that Ramses II reigned for 66-67 years (Breasted 1940a; Kitchen 1977-78: 67; Stadelmann 1981; Eaton-Krauss 1984: 110; Ward 1992a), making him the longest reign during the Egyptian New Kingdom. For the purpose of this study the low chronology will be adopted for Ramses II 1279-213 B.C.

Toward a Chronology of the Asiatic Campaigns

The chronological reconstruction of Ramses II's campaigns into Asia are complex (Gaballa 1976: 106). A survey of the evidence indicates that most of his campaigns were directed against Syria and the Hittites (Dever 1992c: 18; Wenig 1992: 18). His first campaign was recorded on the Nahr el-Kalb stela found near Beirut and dated to Year 10 (ARI II 1, 11). During this campaign he secured the Phoenician coast (Gaballa 1976: 106; Kitchen 1982: 71). His second, and most celebrated campaign is dated to Year 5 and is directed against the Syrian city of Kadesh. This campaign was described extensively and repeatedly, 30 times on the walls of temples at Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, and Abu Simbel (ARI II 2-128). Reliefs of the battle are also provided (ARI II 122-128). These sources of information make the Battle of Kadesh a significant resource in understanding the tactics and practice of the Egyptian military during the time of Ramses II from a textual and iconographic perspective.

Gaballa (1976: 107) suggested that a third campaign may have taken place against Syria in Year 8, as is recorded at the Ramessesum and probably at Luxor and Karnak as well (cf. Langdon and Gardner 1920; Helck 1971: 219, 220, 223, 231). Numerous sites are depicted in Egyptian reliefs and indicate that this campaign was one of the most encompassing of his reign. Kitchen suggests that in Years

B/9 Ramses II campaigned in Galilee, Merom, Beth-Anath and occupied the port city of Akko on his way inland, marching east through the Eleutherus valley and then north to Oromes, conquering Dajaz and Lomp further north (Kitchen 1982: 68). That there were additional campaigns to Syria between Year 10 and 18 (Kitchen 1964: 68) is certain, based on the reliefs as well as the Nahr el-Kalb (Year 10) and Beth Shan (Year 18) stelae.

There is considerable evidence that Ramses II campaigned in Transjordan, and in southern Canaan, Negev and Sinai (Kitchen 1964; 1982; 1992b). The date of the Transjordanian campaign has not been firmly established. Kitchen first suggested that the campaign occurred between Years 11-20 (Kitchen 1964: 69). He later revised these dates and postulated Years 7/8 (Kitchen 1982: 67). LECHE (1989: 202) maintains that the campaign took place in Year 4. But Ramses II was campaigning on the Phoenician coast that year. Furthermore, the change of the rebel label must have occurred after Year 5 (Kitchen 1992b: 31 note 4). Recently Haider (1987: 121-122) suggests that the campaign occurred after Year 9 and is followed by Kitchen (1992b: 31 note 4) at 1992b: 268. This new date is most convincing and is significant for a chronological placement of Ramses II's only Transjordanian campaign. Another campaign against Phoenicia in Year 4 is recorded on the second Nahr el-Kalb stela (ARI II 1; Gaballa 1976: 107).

One question yet remains: Did Ramses II ever campaign west of Jericho and south of modern Syria? It is without doubt that he traveled through the region on his way to the Phoenician coast, Syria and Hatti. But did Canaan require military action as did the northern Syria, Hatti, southern Sinai, Negev, and Transjordanian regions? Here the only hints are: 1) The Beth Shan Stela, ARI II 150-151, which is somewhat ambiguous about the details of its commemoration (Wilson 1969a: 23; Rowe 1950: 33-36, Pl. 40) and 2) The topographical lists and reliefs mentioning Akko, Yps, Aphek, Beth-Anath, Beth-Shan, Dor, Sharhen, and Yenoani.¹

¹ The reliefs at Karnak depicting a campaign to Ashkelon were formerly attributed to Ramses II (Wreszinski 1945: Pl. 58b; Gardner 1961: 263-64; Kitchen 1964: 68 note 3). Although some continue to uphold this view (Kelford 1980a, 1982b; Higginbotham 1990), recent evidence has been produced placing them under the reign of Merneptah (Stager 1984b; Yano 1986: 398, 1991), a view that has received widespread support (Sass 1989; Kitchen 1993b; Raney 1991, 1992, 1995; Stager 1985b; 1995a; see Chapter Three, 199-201).

An inherent problem has been noted concerning the ahistorical nature of topographical lists (Spalinger 1979b). During the reign of Ramses II some toponyms may have been copied from previous reigns. Noth (1941: 4-48) postulated that perhaps only two out of the eight lists contained in Simons' collection (1937: 64-77) can be considered original productions, but his study is superseded by more recent study. The Amara West lists are often interpreted as copies of the Sobek inscriptions of Amenhotep III (Fauman 1944: 16; cf. Horn 1953: 202). Indeed, the repetition of certain toponyms may indicate that Ramses II campaigned at numerous sites. This is made more evident by the reliefs of fortresses often associated with many of the toponyms. Generally, the military actions of Ramses II are interpreted as limited to the regions of southern Canaan, Negev and Sinai, Edom, and Syria-Syria-Hittite and Amurru (the Phoenician coast) (Dever 1992c: 18; Wente 1992: 18). It is from these scattered monuments that a basic chronology of the military campaigns of Ramses II can be reconstructed (cf. Schmidt 1973; Table 2).

Archaeological Correlates for Military Activity

The identification and archaeological investigation of specific entities is especially crucial for reconstructing the campaigns of Ramses II. Unfortunately, stratified excavations at many sites have not been extensive enough at this stage to provide significant results from an archaeological perspective. Nevertheless, this section will provide an analysis of those specific toponyms in the texts and reliefs of Ramses II that may be identified with archaeological sites in Syria, Transjordan, and Cisjordan (Figure 13).

Syria

The most celebrated campaign during the reign of Ramses II was undoubtedly that of Year 5 in Syria. This campaign, known as the Battle of Kadesh, was recorded ten times in Egyptian public buildings both in written form (ARI II 24-28; Faulkner 1958) and pictorially (Leban 1981; Spalinger 1985a: 6-7; Goedicke 1984b: 11; Broadhurst 1992; Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, Abu Simbel) and the

¹⁰ On text-critical evaluations of these accounts, see Gardiner (1960: 46-54; Way 1984) and Spalinger (1985b). For translations, see Breasted (1933: 467-3123-13); Wilson (1927, 1969a), Gardiner (1960), and M. Lichtheim (1976).

Ramesseum.¹ References to the battle are also found in other inscriptions in Egypt (Beth Shan Stele, Year 18; *KU* II.150-151) and another version among Hittite documents (Fecht 1984: 41-45, 50; Edel 1950; 1994a, 1994b; the Hittites view themselves as victors).

The outcome of the battle of Kadesh is a matter of intense debate. There are scholars who doubt the historical veracity of the text altogether (Otis 1953: 177; Herck 1971: 17). Some take the position that Ramses II changed an ambush and a possibly overwhelming defeat into a respectable draw (Wilson 1951b: 246; Hayes 1999: 339; Deshayes-Nouzeau 1976: xxiv; Hornung 1978: 104; Kitchen 1984: 62), while others see these accounts as political propaganda to cover up Egypt's defeat by the Hittite king Muwatallis (Herck 1981b: 85; Beckert 1971: 43; Simpson and Hallo 1971: 279; Mayer and Mayer-Opificius 1994). However, the unity and remarkable detail of the account testifies that it reflects an actual campaign to Syria (Gardner 1968: 52; Goedicke 1985b: 78; Goedicke 1985b: 98) argued that no decisive battle was ever fought at Kadesh (followed by Mayer and Mayer-Opificius 1994). Instead, he maintains that after the ambush of the Division of Pre' and the events of the first day, Ramses II punished the rebels within his own ranks who did not support him on the day of battle (Goedicke 1985b: 100-102, supported by Morscheuser 1985). Then after, he was approached by an "envoy bearing a letter in his hand" (Gardner 1960: 13, P300). This letter contained a written declaration of mutual recognition and an invitation to peace which was agreed upon by the king in consultation with his military leaders (Goedicke 1985b: 103-104). This was followed some years later by the signing of the treaty. Regardless of the position taken, while the "Battle of Kadesh" is important for an understanding of Egyptian and Hittite military practice, it can offer little in the way of destruction correlates at the site of Kadesh. It is clear that the battle never reached Kadesh and was to be decided out in the plains south of the city. Its depiction on the walls of Ramses' most important temples may point toward the religious and ideological factors involved in the campaign. As Ockinga (1987: 4) states, "the poem is therefore not only an expression of personal piety on the part of the king; it also expounds the official dogma of kingship, thus on both counts it belongs in the sphere of religion." Here ideology, kingship, and warfare are once again bound together.

On the mutual prearrangement of Kadesh as the location for this confrontation between Egypt and Hatti, see Goedicke (1985b: 84).

Kadesh

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Kds* appears nine times in the various copies of the *Poem*: *KRI* II 4,6-11, II 14,12-16, II 16,1-2, II 18,6-7, II 11,1-4, II 20,1-6, II 20,8-10, II 27,12-16, II 74,7-11, eight times in the *Bullian*: *KRI* II 112,12-13, II 108,1-3, II 108,11-14, II 109,1-4, II 111,5-16, II 112,5-8, II 115,7-11, II 118,8-9; and twice in the *Relief*: *KRI* II 134,11 and where reads of the toponym are labeled "City *dm* of Kadesh" *KRI* II 140,14-16.

Identification. The site of Tell Nebi Mend was first identified as the location for Kadesh by Robinson and Smith (1841: 13), followed by Conder (1881: 166). Today, his identification is widely accepted (Breasted 1893: 16-17; *ARE*: 312b; Coetze 1989; Alt 1992: 1943; Gardiner 1960: 58; Goedicke 1986; Raney 1993; Kuschke 1978; 1984a, 1984b; Goedicke 1986b; Morschauer 1985; Spalinger 1985a; 1987).

History of Investigation. Excavations at Tell Nebi Mend were conducted by M. Pezard (1922, 1931) from 1921 to 1922. Modern excavations at the site began in 1975 under the direction of P. J. Parr, are sponsored by the Institute of Archaeology, University College of London. Mathias and Parr (1989; Parr 1983, 1991) estimate more than ten hundred seasons of excavation have taken place (Bourke 1993: 155).

Archaeological Data. Pezard (1922, 1931) excavated for two seasons, reaching the Middle Bronze Age remains in his *Tranche A* (Kuschke 1984a: 32). Modern excavations have extended over three major areas of the site and have established a sequence of occupation beginning with the pottery Neolithic (Mathias and Parr 1989). The sequence of Trench I Area 280 covers eight architectural phases A-H of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Phase A, just below the surface, was heavily eroded. The only piece of imported ware was found in Phase B. A small body sherd from a Mycenaean IIB1 stirrup jar suggests a *terminus post quem* sometime within the thirteenth century B.C. (LB III). Phase C corresponds to the LB II period and was divided by excavators into four subphases of which Phase Ciii is to be associated with Pezard's "Niveau 4" subphase of his "Syro-Hittite" stratum (Bourke 1993: 158; cf. Pezard 1931: 45-62).

A variant at Ligne 11, reads "Kadesh the wretched" (Gardiner 1960: 42).

	Campaign and Toponyms	Sources
Year 4	Phoenicia	Nahr el-Kalb Middle Stela (ARI II 1-101)
Year 5	Kadesh on the Orontes	Poem (ARI II 1-101) Bullens (ARI II 102-124) Reliefs (ARI II 129-147)
Year 8-9	<p>North Canaan and Syria (1 <i>g-t-bj/-</i> ?; 2 <i>M-kj-d</i> ?; 3 <i>M-kj-d</i> ?; 4 <i>n-nj-k-m</i>; 5 <i>kt-pu</i> ? [.. on the mountain of Beth 'Anath]; 6 <i>Kj-nj</i> [Cana]; 7 <i>Dj-pu-r</i> [Dapur .. in the land of Amurru]; 8 <i>Kj-y-nr</i>; 9 <i>Jun m' y-m</i>; 10 <i>f- - -f</i>; 11 <i>pu-n</i>; 12 <i>Mr-m</i> [Merom]; 13 [lost]; 14 <i>'-b-rw</i>; 15 <i>B'kr-P</i> ?-S; 16-17 [lost]; 18 <i>S'-r'-m</i>)</p> <p>Coastal Plain and Syria, Bottom Register (1 <i>S-f-bj-m</i>; 2 <i>kt-kj-n</i>) Middle Register (1 [lost]; 2 <i>Kjw-n</i>; 3 <i>f-t-y</i>; 4 <i>'kt</i> [Akko]; 5 <i>r-Sj</i>; 6 <i>(M)u-d-r</i> [Mutur]); Top Register (1 [lost]; 2 <i>Kp-m-nj</i> ? [lost]; 4 [lost]; 5 <i>f-?]-m-</i> ?; 6 <i>kt-j-?]</i>; 7 <i>f-pu-kt</i>; 8 [lost]; 9 <i>f-y</i>)</p> <p>Inland Syria (1 <i>D-pu-r</i> [Dapur .. in the land of Hatu]; 2 <i>Sj-m-nj</i> [Satuna]; 3 <i>Mu-d-r</i> [Mutur])</p> <p>Inland Syria (1 <i>Dj-pu-r</i> [Dapur])</p>	<p>Ramesseum, First Pylon (ARI II 148-149, Wreszinski 1935 Taf 90-91)</p> <p>Karnak (ARI II 153-158, Wreszinski 1935 Taf 4-56)</p> <p>Luxor (ARI II 170-176, Wreszinski 1935 Taf 2-3)</p> <p>Ramesseum, Hypostyle Hall (ARI II 173-3, Wreszinski 1935 107-109)</p>
Year 9 or later	Transjordan Moab, Dibon, Bashan-lands, Se'ir/Edom	Luxor East (ARI II 183-185, Kitchen 1964) Amara West East
Years 10-18	Syria	Nahr el-Kalb South Stela (ARI II 149)
Year 18	Beth Shan	Beth Shan Stela (ARI II 150-151)

Table 2 Chronology of Campaigns by Ramses II

a. *Destruction Correlates*. At the end of the LB II period both the sites of Kamud el-Lôz and Tell Netzi Mend are said to show some evidence of reduction in size that is apparently accompanied by destruction debris. Martoe 1977: 232-233, Bourke 1983: 89.



Figure 13. Map of toponyms mentioned in the military accounts of Ramesses II. Akko: 2. Beth Anath: 3. Beth Shan: 4. Er-Rabbah (Bith-rab): 5. Dhiban: 6. Dor; 7. Pella; 8. Tell Yin am-Yeno am?

Disturbed levels also continue in Phases B and A LB III. However, the final reports are not yet published and it is hoped that further elaboration of these levels will be provided at that time.

b Subsequent Activity. The site was no longer occupied after the end of the Late Bronze Age.

Assessment There is no reason to believe from the Kadesh inscriptions and reliefs that the city of Kadesh itself was ever reached and attacked by the Egyptian forces of Ramses II. Fatal reports from the current excavations at Tell Nebi Mend will hopefully provide further information on this question. Some sixteen years later a treaty was signed with the Hittites that seemed to extend throughout the remaining years of Ramses II and into the reign of his son Merneptah. The destruction and abandonment of the site is to be associated with other causes at the end of the Late Bronze Age that eventually even brought about the general downfall of the Hittite empire around 1200 B.C. (Guterbock 1992; Hoffner 1992).

Transjordan

In his analysis of the scenes along the interior face of the east wall of the Court of Ramses II in the Temple at Luxor, Kitchen (1964) proposes that the toponyms *Mt. Liban*, *Moab*, *Libanus*, *Dagon*, *Hittite*, and *Ym* (i.e. in the mountain of *Ym*) were all located north of the Arnon River and probably in the heartland of Moab (1964: 65). Another toponym that occurs on various lists is *Paal* (Paal Ahuvy 1984: 153–54), but whether this represents part of the campaign to Transjordan or is simply a copy of earlier lists is uncertain.

Moab

Occurrences and Context The entity *Mt. Liban* occurs possibly three times in the records of Ramses II. The first is on the base of the western-most statue of Ramses II before the pylon of the Luxor temple (ARI II 8–11; Porter, Moss and Burney 1972: 304; Simon 1937). The following order of toponyms occurs: 1) Hatti, 2) Nihari, 3) Assur and 4) *Mt. Liban*. This indicates that *Mt. Liban* is a major territorial designation included with other territories. The second occurrence, on the outer face of the east wall of the Court of Ramses II at Luxor, is read as *Lower Moab* (the Pharaoh's arm captured in the land of Moab *Bent* ARI II 18: 2; Kitchen 1964: 65–67). Here the designation *Liban* once again indicates a land or region that has towns or settlements within its boundaries. Finally, the last occurs on the topographical list at Amara West (ARI II 216.1, PM VII 157–164; Timm 1989: 9–14).

Identification In two of the occurrences Moab is written with the determinative for "hill-country" and in one case with the determinative for "land." It is associated with certain settlements within its boundaries. This indicates that it was viewed by the scribes as a land or region which corresponds well to other later references to Moab in the Hebrew Bible and in the Mesha inscription. Due to these considerations and its immediate context, the toponym is widely identified as the region of Moab in Transjordan (Kyle 1908; Smoler 1937; Kitchen 1964, 1993b; Georg 1978, 1989a; Farn 1989: 9-14; Miller 1989: 15, 1992a, 1992b; Mattingly 1992, 1994).

History of Investigation and Archaeological Data The history of research in the region prior to the 1930s was largely concerned with exploration and mapping (Miller 1989: 5-7). In 1930 a stela was found at Khirbet Balu'a known as the Balu'a Stela (Drioton 1933; cf. Worschech 1997a). The inscription is poorly preserved and aspects of the stela seem non-Egyptian, which has led to the conclusion that the sculptor may have been a local inhabitant. Yet it is based on Egyptian prototypes (Ward and Martin 1964: 98; Laperrousse 1985); the so-called Shihar stela had been found at the site of Rumm el-Akri and seemed to date to the Iron Age (Wannagel 1983).

In 1933 Glueck began his survey in Transjordan which was soon published (Glueck 1934, 1935, 1939). That same year Albright and Crowfoot began excavations at Akr and Balu'a (Albright 1934; Crowfoot 1934). Glueck concluded from his surveys that there had been a gap in sedentary occupation from the Early Bronze Age to the end of the Late Bronze Age (c. 2000-300 B.C.). This was followed by a surge in occupation during the beginning of the Iron Age (Miller 1989: 7). To date few sites have been thoroughly excavated and published in northern and central Transjordan besides Tell Hesban (Miller 1989: 8-10). Work at Dibon (1950-56, 1983), Khirbet el-'Al (1962; 'Arafat 1964), Tell Hesban (1968-76; Khirbet el-Muqanin or Wadi el-Zajūn, 1976, 1982, and Khirbet Balu'a (1933, 1986) have yielded the basic source material for the reconstruction of Moabite history (for full documentation, see Miller 1989: 7-10). Extensive survey work was conducted by the Tell Hesban project (Bach 1987), the Moab survey which recorded over 400 sites with some activity (Miller 1979, 1991), and the Northwest Arad el-Kerek survey which concentrated in the northwest quadrant of Moab (Worschech 1983a; 1985b; cf. 1990b).

Theories of Origin. Giesecke's conclusions that Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite culture began rather abruptly at the beginning of the Iron Age was widely accepted by scholarship in his day. Thus early theories of origin were influenced by the popular "wave" hypothesis that saw cultural changes as the result of migration and invasions. Alt (1955a: 215; Noth 1960: 164; Landes 1990: 31-35). With the "peasant's revolt" theory of Mendenhall (1973: 167; 1983: 94-100) this view was challenged. Mendenhall believed that the oppressed lower classes rebelled against the city-state system, which led to widespread socio-economic collapse. These "peasants" fled to the central hill country and across to Transjordan to establish new settlements there. In this way, the kingdoms of Israel, Ammon, Moab, and Edom were established. Gottwald (1979) took a similar position with certain variations.

Recently new proposals have been presented. J. M. Miller (1989: 64-65) who has completed a major survey of the region of Moab, departs from previous views by suggesting that there is no cultural break between the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age. "There is no reason to suppose accordingly that the Moabite kingdom emerges from newcomers to the region" (Miller 1992a: 889). Instead Miller maintains that these peoples were descendants from earlier indigenous inhabitants.

Following Harter (1987; Worschech 1990b: 124-128, 1993: 1997) proposes that the individuals of Transjordan depicted on Egyptian reliefs are not shown as typical inhabitants of *Sinu* and therefore must be linked with another group. Based on Gorg (1983a) he makes a distinction between the *Sinu* and *Sutu*. The *Sinu* were nomadic groups living in the fringes but the *Sutu* were another nomadic group that infiltrated from the east into Transjordan. Moreover, he claims that the towns represented in the reliefs of Ramses II are inhabited by the *Emnes*.¹ Upon their destruction by the Egyptians, the *Sutu* and *Sutu* of the desert fringes took over the territory of Central Moab. Thus, Worschech identifies three separate ethnic groups during this late period, claiming that only the *Sutu/Sutu* following the campaigns of Ramses II form what later becomes Moab. But this hypothesis is not without difficulties.

Alt (1955a: 122-3) suggested that the Bala'a Stele was written in Linear B and indicated that this group came from the west and could be linked with the Emim of the Hebrew Bible (Deut. 2: 36; Gen 15:5; cf. Bartlett 1973: 230).

Worschech is to be commended for his attempt to integrate Egyptian and archaeological sources. Nevertheless, there are several difficulties with his hypothesis.

LaBianca and Younker 1993 cf. Younker 1997 submit a new theory of origins for Moab suggesting that Ammon, Moab, and Edom were not nation-states but "tribal kingdoms" and that these kingdoms "came into existence in a cascading fashion—first Ammon, then Moab and, last of all, Edom" (1997: 399). LaBianca and Younker contend that their emergence was due to several synergistically related factors: 1) the expansion of plow agriculture by indigenous tribes in the Transjordanian highlands; 2) the collapse of the Late Bronze Age city-state system; and 3) the retaliation against mounting threats from the increasingly sedentary Israelites and incoming Philistines (1993: 399–411). Accordingly, this process seems to have begun *after* these events occurred at around 1200–1180 B.C. (LaBianca and Younker 1993: 410). While tribal predecessors were present earlier, they were not unified as "tribal kingdoms." They do not identify the location or nature of these pastoral predecessors.

Assessment. Although all of these positions recognize the Egyptian evidence from early in the reign of Ramses II (Year 9 or later), none of those who attempt reconstructions assimilate their hypotheses with the textual record (but see Worschech 1980b, 1993, 1997b). Several questions are raised by these inscriptions. Who inhabited the territory of Moab in ca. 1270 B.C. when toponyms within this entity are mentioned by Ramses II? What settlements or cities did Ramses II defeat and who were their inhabitants? Miller (1992b: 86) states correctly "that one cannot make a case for a unified territorial monarchy or the basis of the Egyptian evidence." Nevertheless, the territory and land of Moab was known by this time and it is listed with other great territories including Hatti, Naharin, and Assur (Lamon 1989: 6). With Lamon (1989: 8) it is possible to state that this was a

Logically Worschech's argument is structured as follows: (1) Ramses II defeated the territory of Moab inhabited by non-Moabite Emutes; (2) *Šarai Šutay* nomads took over the territory; (3) They later established the kingdom of Moab. However, as early as the time of Ramses II, Moab is already referred to as a territory or region (Lamon 1989: 8) with certain fortresses (ibid.). The suggestion that Moab is comprised of a different ethnic group than the one that follows is difficult to accept. The *Šarai* at the Amarna West (no. of Ramses II) is also written with the same determinative as Moab. Moreover, the inhabitants of *Šarai* are known to be a group of nomads in southern Transjordan, Edom or Midian (see Chapter Three, 2.1.1.1: 85). These regions are well outside the territory of Moab. Others have also maintained that it was from this group that the early Israelites (Redford 1966a; 1990; 1992b; Rainey 1992) and Edomites emerged. Moreover, the term *Šarai* in Egyptian documents can encompass a broader geographical understanding (Ward 1972) not accounted for in this reconstruction.

territorial or political term but not an ethnic one,² although a socio-ethnic group may have preceded it, as is often the case. This territory had cities or settlements known to the Egyptians: Dibon and *Bet an*; each of these toponyms is addressed individually see 163-166.

Earlier archaeological data were interpreted as representing a sharp break between the LB II and Iron I periods (Ghiuck 1934; Worschech 1990: 94). Today others see a more gradual trend "toward sedentary lifestyle and urbanization which began in the LB and reached a climax in Iron II" (Miller 1992b: 86; cf. 1989: 1-2, 1992a, 1aBianca and Yonker 1993). This implies that there were pastoral peoples present in the Late Bronze Age beginning to settle during the transition. Although this is a step toward explaining the textual reference to toponyms in the region, it still does not answer the fundamental question of where these toponyms were located and what role they played during the LB III period.

Dibon

Occurrences and Context. The entry *Tibn dm* or *Tibnu* was identified by Kitchen from a papyrus on the east wall of the Court of Ramses II in the Luxor Temple (KRI II 180; Kitchen 1964: 53, 1992b: 28). Here *Tibnu* is shown as an abandoned fort or stereotypical fashion (Type 2) (Bachawry 1968: 4-2 with the papyrus reading, "Town *dm* that Pharaoh's army plundered *Tibnu*" KRI II 180).

Identification. Because of its clear context it was initially interpreted by Kitchen as referring to Maabite Dibon in Transjordan (Kitchen 1964: 53). The ensuing exchange is evident in the literature. First Ahitav (1972) located *Tibnu* in Galilee following Aharoni's placement of *Tibmaside Tpn* at 'Am Jbl (Aharoni 1979: 1-1). Ahitav's arguments are refuted convincingly by Kitchen (1976: 1992b: 232-1-4) and by Redford's (1982a, 1982b: 118-1-4) challenge against Aharoni. Others follow Ahitav more favorably (Miller 1977: 26-2-1; Weippert 1979: 27 note 44; Weinstein 1981: 21). The preference for the Galilee location centers on the lack of Late Bronze occupation found at Tell Dhiban. However, in the most recently

Weippert's statement that "it cannot be established whether Ramses II conquered a fortress, fortified city, a village, or only a nomad's camp in Maab" (Weippert 1979: 27) is unfounded. The Egyptian term *dm* is used to describe *Bezek* in the land of Maab. This term is never used to refer to a nomadic encampment as the fortress representations indicate (cf. Timin 1989: 20 note 40).

published survey, Gal (1992) demonstrated convincingly that the sites associated with the Transjordanian toponyms in the Galilee region are simply nonexistent. The Bronze Age sites referred to in Aharoni's original study are primarily occupied during the Early and Middle Bronze periods. From surface surveys, none of them appear to have Late Bronze remains (Gal 1992: 14-62), making them no better candidates than sites located in Transjordan.

History of Investigation. The site of Dhiban was excavated by the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem beginning in 1950 (cf. Tushingham 1993: 30). There were several campaigns: 1950-51 under the direction of F. W. Winnett; 1952 under W. J. Reed (Winnett and Reed 1964); 1952, 1953 under A. D. Tushingham (Tushingham 1962, 1962-63; Tushingham and Pedersen 1993); and 1955, 1956, and 1963 under W. H. Morton (Morton 1955, 1957, 1989).

Archaeological Data. Excavations at Dhiban in Transjordan have revealed occupation from the Early Bronze Age (Morton 1989: 24), the Iron II period, the Roman, Byzantine, and Arab periods (Tushingham 1992: 195-196). According to excavators there is "absolutely no evidence for the MB and LB Ages at Dhiban" (Tushingham 1992: 195; cf. Morton 1989: 24). Occupation began again at about 1200 B.C., although no architecture has been associated with the Iron I period (Tushingham 1992: 19). This gap in occupation presents a challenge to the records of Ramses II.

Assessment. The Egyptian evidence is clear. Both the textual usage of *dm*, "town," and iconographic evidence of a fort indicate that the Egyptians meant a settlement. Weippert's (1979: 27) note 44 suggests that this was a fortified city as it is supported by the Egyptian evidence. Indeed, whenever a site written and pictured in this way has been identified, it was a proper settlement. How can we reconcile this evidence?

Kitchen has pointed out that the archaeological work at Dhiban "remains very inadequate. Our knowledge of the main mound at Dhiban is incomplete, and there is no guarantee that the Late Bronze settlement was on that spot rather than nearby, whether under the modern village or elsewhere" (Kitchen 1992: 28). Indeed, several possibilities exist for the apparent lack of LB archaeological evidence at Dhiban. 1. The archaeological excavations were carried out in the 1950s when the corpus of known LB pottery was scarce on the plateau. Excavators may have been looking only for imported

wares as indicators of the period, not recognizing plain wares. 2 The excavations at the site were not complete and excavators may have unintentionally missed a smaller Late Bronze settlement. 3 The LB site may have been located in the close vicinity or elsewhere. A thorough reassessment following further excavation is necessary to solve the identity of Late Bronze Age Dhiban.

Bet el-Lajjun

Occurrences and Context The entity *Bet el-Lajjun* is mentioned only once, together with Moab and Dibon, in the same text in the Temple at Luxor (ARI II 80; Kitchen 1964: 49, Fig. 7). Like Temne, *Bet el-Lajjun* is shown as an abandoned fort in stereotypical fashion (Type 2b; Badawy 1968: 47), with the palimpsest reading "I saw that Pharaoh's army plundered in the land of Moab, *Bet el-Lajjun*" (ARI II 80). Here, the specific information is provided that this toponym is located in Moab.

Identification Kitchen suggests that this toponym be identified with Raba Batora which is to be located at er-Rabbah some 14 miles south of the Arnon River or 27 miles south of Amman (Kitchen 1964: 64-65, 1992b: 27-28, followed by Helck 1971: 2-2). This identification is partially based on its appearance on the Late Roman *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Kitchen 1964: 64-65 cf. Agha 1963: 3; Gorg 1964: 1978: 7) challenge this identification, suggesting that the Egyptian toponym be read as *Bet el-Lot*, "Wohnsitz des Lot". However, this reading is unlikely since the Canaanite *l* is generally rendered *h* in Egyptian (Bernard 1969: 48-49; Albright 1934a: 66-67; Tamm 1983: 39). Knud (1985) observes that the reading Raba Batora is an ancient clerical error combining the two names of Rabbah Moab (Josephus) and Betheres known from the *Notitia Dignitatum* and other late Roman/Byzantine sources. He further proposes that it be identified with the site of Batir (Site 400; Miller 1991: 132). That same year, Kalifi (1985) posited that *Bet el-Lajjun* is to be identified with Tell el-Lajjun. Worschech recently (1990b: 44-48, 26) identifies *Bet el-Lajjun* with Khirbet el-Batra, about 3 miles southeast of Kerak.

History of Investigation Tell el-Lajjun was surveyed by Glueck (1933: 5, 1934: 44-45, 47, 61, 91; Albright 1934b: 7) and most recently Miller (1991: 102-104). Er-Rabbah and Batir were surveyed by Miller (1991: 118-119) while Khirbet es-Batra was surveyed by Glueck (1934: 65).

Archaeological Data According to the surface survey results, Tell el-Lajjun shows no evidence for Late Bronze or Iron I Age

occupation. Lajjun is occupied primarily in the Early Bronze Age ending in EB IV (Miller 1991: 102). A Roman fort was built there in later times (Miller 1991: 104). Batir produced only one possible LB shard followed by a gap until Iron II. The largest ceramic corpus is from the Nabataean and later Islamic periods (Miller 1991: 104). Khirbet el-Batra' was first thought to contain only Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine remains (Gruček 1934: 65) until Worschech (1990: 103, Abb. 28) published several forms dating to the Iron Age. However, no LB pottery was found there during the survey of the Kerak plateau by Miller (1991: 133).

Assessment. The Egyptian evidence, referring to this toponym as a *dnw*, "town" and depicting it as a stereotypical fortress located explicitly in Moab, makes it clear that the Egyptians perceived this entity to be a proper settlement in EB III. Moreover, the Egyptians indicate that the town was "plundered" *hy* during the reign of Ramses II.

The archaeological data presently available are insufficient to suggest a possible location on the basis of dating alone. The conclusion that Tell el-Lajjun, er-Rabbah, and Batir lack LB evidence is based on surface surveys. While these methods provide important evidence for settlement patterns, they cannot replace systematic, stratigraphic excavation (cf. Bienkowski 1997). None of the sites suggested to be identified with the Egyptian toponym *Ba'zta* has been excavated, making any suggestion tentative.

Patul/Pella

Occurrences and Context. The entity *patul* occurs three times in the topographical lists of Ramses II at Karnak 2, List XXIV: 20, *ARI* II 192, 14; List XXVIa: 1, *ARI* II 215; List XXVf: 11, *ARI* II 213, 14. Ahituv (1984: 253, 254). The two occurrences on the Amara West list are copies from earlier lists of Amenhotep III (Edo 1960).

Identification. See 1125.

History of Investigation. See 1125-1126.

Archaeological Data. Excavation in the 1980s produced evidence for a major destruction during the terminal phase of LB III (Phase 1A). It extended over most of Area III (Potts *et al.* 1988: 136-137, Smith and Potts 1992: 100). The buildings affected in the massive conflagration include mostly domestic structures and possible a shrine that stood close by. This destruction of conflagration was complete in exposed LB strata.

a. Chronology of Destruction The pottery published in the preliminary reports indicates a date within the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. Loefer 101, Potts *et al.* 1988: 138, Fig. 11, either in the late thirteenth or early twelfth century B.C.

b. Subsequent Activity Architectural features were rebuilt along similar lines following the Phase IA destruction. At least three post-Phase IA phases were excavated but were so poorly preserved that reconstruction was not possible (Potts *et al.* 1988: 137).

Assessment. The conclusion was reached that due to the nature and chronology of the destruction it was not likely caused by Sen I. The real and question is whether Ramses II might have destroyed the city. Egyptian textual sources make no such claim. The city appears on topographical lists without any further historical context and it is possible that this name may have been copied by Ramses II from earlier lists of Amenhotep III and Sen I. Although the chronology of the destruction of Pella fits within the reign of Ramses II or later, the correlates of destruction indicate causes other than Egyptian military activity. It was noted that the entire exposed LB III area (ca. 300 m Area III), suffered an intense conflagration, a practice that according to textual and iconographic evidence was not normally part of the military activity of the Egyptians. Since Pella and nearby Tell es-Saidiyeh were of important economic interest to the Egyptians and probably included in the taxing system that may have been administered from Beth Shan the consideration that Egypt caused its destruction is not well founded.

Even, what is the evidence for a campaign to Transjordan during the reign of Ramses II. The textual and iconographic evidence makes it clear that Ramses II campaigned in the territory of Moab sometime after year 9 (ca. 1244/9 B.C.). Moab is mentioned several times. Toponyms within Moab are clearly named *dm*, "town" and shown as fortresses in relief, indicating proper settlements within Moab.

Further evidence for Egyptian influence in this region is indicated by the Balua and Raim al-Ard "Shahar Warrior" stelae found within the region of Moab. The scenes on these stelae are shown to have clear Egyptian features and traditions represented. Ward and Martin 1984; Weninger 1987: 2; Kitchen 1992b: 29. Both pieces are attributed to the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition (Zayadine 1991: 37).

Other excavated sites in Transjordan with LB remains include the Amman Airport Temple (Hennessey 1966; G.E. Wright 1966,

Harkey 1974; Herr 1983a, 1983b; Tell Deir Allā; Franken 1961: 361-369; Franken and Kalsbeek 1969: 1-2, 5-20, 33-35; Tel Jala; Younker *et al.* 1996; Madaba; Harrison 1997; Rabbath-Amman; Ware 1966b: 9-15; Bennett 1979: 19; Domeneq *et al.* 1983: 111-121; Pella; Potts *et al.* 1988; Smith and Potts 1992; Tell Saḥāb; Ibrahim 1974: 60-61, 1975: 28-30, 1983: 41-48, 1987: 77; Tell es-Sa'idiyya; Tabb 1993, 1996; Tell Safa; Ma'ayeh 1996: 113; D. Wimmer 1987a, 1987b; Tell el-Umeiri; Herr *et al.* 1994; Herr 1995a, and Umm ad-Danani; McGovern 1986. Several of these LB settlements were actually walled: Rabbath-Amman, Tel Safa, Tell Saḥāb, Tell el-Umeiri, and Umm ad-Danani. The implications of this evidence is that the sedentary settlement of this region is much more extensive than Glueck's initial synthesis (cf. Sauer 1986; Miller 1989, 1992a, LaBatina and Younker 1995). In addition to these walled sites, several LB settlements have also been excavated in Transjordan, including Madaba; Harding and Isserlin 1953: 27-28, 34-36; Beqah Valley; McGovern 1981a, 1981b, 1986; Qweilbi; Ma'ayeh 1996; Ma'ayeh 1981: 343, 1982: 493, and Qatari es-Sanā'a; Leonard 1979: 185. While most of these sites occur in the traditional area identified as Ammon and in the upper Jordan Valley, Tel Jaul, the largest site in northern Moab, may be a walled settlement during LB III. LaBatina and Younker 1995: 407.

The surveys indicate that the investigation of several sites, Dhiban, Tell el-Lajjun, er-Rabbān, and Baḥ, are not yet complete enough to establish archaeological correlates for these campaigns. However, the fact of the numerous other sites including LB remains in the Kerak survey (Miller 1991), the monumental art, and settled areas in other parts of Transjordan "implies the existence of some kind of simple political state with at least a few tangible centres permanently occupied under organized rule exercised over farming and pastoral populations of unknown and modest extent" Kitchen 1991b: 20. These economies would have been of particular interest to Egypt as it expanded its boundaries during the reign of Ramses II.

Cisjordan

Whether Ramses II ever exercised military action against the cities of Cisjordan is debated. An analysis of the topographical lists (which contain most of the references) and a detailed investigation of the archaeological record is necessary to understand the nature of Egyptian military action along the northern coastal plain and in Galilee.

Akko

Occurrences and Context. The entity *k* occurs twice during the reign of Ramses II: on a topographical list of Ramses II at Karnak List XXIV 3: *ARI* II 163,14 (Vituv 1984: 48) and also on the Karnak reliefs: *ARI* II 155,19 (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 30a). On the Karnak reliefs the city is pictured empty with its gates askew, suggesting that possibly some damage was done to the gate in order to enter the city (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 55a). The accompanying text states: "Town (*dnw*) which His Majesty plundered." (*ARI* II 155,10). This last occurrence was not copied from earlier inscriptions. It is almost certain that Ramses II took military action against the city.

Identification. See (130)

History of Investigation. See (130)

Archaeological Data. Although one might infer the destruction of a gate as indicated by the Karnak reliefs where Ramses II stands with mace in hand before an empty city with its gate askew (M. Dothan, 1977: 242; Weinstein 1980: 4; Dothan and G. G. Lehmann 1965: 21; Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 55a), excavations have not uncovered an LB gate and there is no evidence for fortifications. Based on the dating of the glacis and rampart it could be argued that this defensive mechanism continued to be used throughout parts of the Late Bronze Age. Another possibility would be that the houses formed an outer perimeter wall, serving as a type of "city wall." While there appears to be a discontinuity separating these periods, it is possible that the discontinuity in pottery forms, the replacement of defenses with craft installations, and other patterns indicate cultural change characteristic of other sites taken over by the "Sea Peoples."

Due to these other historical and archaeological evidences, several questions remain: "Did the Egyptians under Ramses II 'plunder' Akko and tear down its ephemeral defensive system? (Weinstein 1980: 4-5) 2. Did the 'Sea Peoples' Saferden then come to occupy an already undefended and ruined city a century later, or were they directly responsible for the discontinuity at the end of Stratum 9? 3. Was Akko subsequently used as a naval base for Egyptian military activities in the southern Levant? (Weinstein 1980; cf. Arzy 1987)

Weinstein's (1980: 45) suggestion that Akko became an Egyptian naval base does not have any direct support from either the textual or the archaeological evidence to date, as he admits. The interpretation therefore must be treated as an hypothesis which cannot be confirmed at this time.

Raban 1998.² These questions cannot be presently answered due to the discrepancies in the preliminary reports and limited exposure of LB remains at Akko.

'Aphék

Occurrences and Context. The entry *'Apk* occurs in the Karnak *ARI* II 117,6 and Luxor rebels *ARI* II 182,12 of Ramses II (Ahtay 1984: 62). It appears as one of two forts being attacked by the king. The text in both accounts reads: 'The town *dm*, which the mighty arm of Pharaoh I.P.H. plundered *ht*, of I.p.k.' Kitchen (1964: 60).

Identification. This town, which is spelled identically in both texts, has been identified as Aphék by Kitchen without identifying which one, (1964: 61). The location of this 'Aphék is disputed. Much hinges on contextual relationships with other forts mentioned. The fort *Armm* also appears on both lists just preceding Aphék. Ahtay (1984: 124) identifies this site as one located in the vicinity of Mount Carmel, based on the phonetic similarity. Thus, Akko, *Armm*, and Aphék might have been along the same line of battle, assuming that Aphék or Asher was being referred to. Ahtay (1984: 12) offers evidence that *Armm* is located along the coast in northern Phoenicia (Gubalia 1979: 188, about 4 miles south of Tyre) (cf. Helck 1971: 202-203). Some have also located Aphék mentioned by Ramses III, with Atja located 16 miles north of Larnak in Lebanon (Albright 1953: 26-27 note 7; Noth 1971: 2; Kasheh 1958: 86) proposing that Aphék was the site of Nahr 4 miles northeast of Baalbek. That there is a relationship between the two toponyms, those of Ramses II and Ramses III is debatable, as Ahtay (1984: 62) points out. Even in the context of I.p.k. a location in the north seems most probable, not Mount Carmel.

Archaeological Data. All sites that have been identified with 'Aphék require future excavations to answer the specific research questions outlined in this study.

Beth 'Anath

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Bt n* is mentioned six times during the reign of Ramses II within the topographical lists at Luxor. List XX, 10a [partially preserved] *ARI* II 178,9; List XXI 33; *ARI* II 177,9 in a topographical list at Karnak. List XXIV

39. *ARI* II 163-15 and in the list of cities conquered in Year 8, the text reading "Town *dm* which His Majesty plundered *hft* By *nm*" (*ARI* II 148,10).

Identification. See (132)

History of Investigation. See (132)

Archaeological Data. Due to the difficulty in the identification of this site (possibly Tel. Rosh), Gal (1992: 61) see discussion, (132) and the lack of stratigraphic excavation little analysis may be conducted at this time. From the list of cities that are listed as conquered in year 8 at the Ramesseum it is evident that this city is depicted as a stereotypical fortress known from other reliefs of Ramses II. The implication is that Ramses II plundered a proper settlement and not a larger geographical region. Other references to "the mountain of Beth-Anath" by Ramses II indicate its centrality in the region (Gal 1992: 61).

Beth Shan

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Bt* occurs on the topographical list at Karnak (Ls. XXIV 38, *ARI* II 163,14 and is mentioned also in Papyrus Anastasi 1 228; Wilson 1960c: 477). The first occurrence was most likely a direct copy from the earlier lists of Set I (Simons 1957: 74; Ahlström 1984: 19). The second appears in a satirical letter which gives much geographical information but must be treated critically (cf. Fischer-Effert 1983: 1986). Finally the discovery of a stela dated to Year 18 (*ARI* II:150-151; Cerný 1958) has been cited as evidence for a campaign (Graballa 1976: 107). But the text is not well preserved, containing only few ambiguous lines (Wilson 1969a: 255).

Identification. See (133)

History of Investigation. See (133-134)

Archaeological Data. The archaeological evidence shows a smooth transition between Levels VIII and VII. Architecturally Level VII is best understood as a refurbishing of existing Level VIII structures in some areas (e.g. the temple and residences in the south-eastern sector) or a completion of the garrison with the addition of new buildings (James and McGovern 1993: 2255). It is suggested that the Year 18 stela of Ramses II may have been set up originally in Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: 236). The refurbishing of the late Level VII remains most likely dates to the time of Merneptah and Ramses III before it went out of use as an Egyptian garrison.

James and McGovern 1993: 236. Mazar's excavations in Area N reached Level VII as well. He exposed a massive building with some of the walls exceeding 2.5 m in width. A large hall "possessed a square silo and brick bench on which sat upper and lower grinding stones. A small room adjoining the hall contained a large amount of charred grain. The evidence for the storing and grinding of grain contrasts with the absence of baking ovens in the building." (A. Mazar 1997: 68). Mazar suggests that this room functioned as a storage facility for grain and other foodstuffs, perhaps as "an element of the Egyptian administration at Beth-Shean." (A. Mazar 1997: 69). The building was "destroyed in a fierce fire" (A. Mazar 1997: 69). Vessels found in this building included Egyptian storage jars and a complete collared-rim storage jar. The large number of Egyptian and Egyptian-style artifacts including stoneware, anthropoid collars, pottery, scarabs, pectorals/jewelry (McGovern 1990) and glass and faience vessels (James and McGovern 1993; McGovern, Flemming, and Swann 1995) attest to the influence of Egypt at Beth-Shean.

Destruction Correlate: There is little disturbance and the fiery destruction of Level VII as attested in the massive burning of Area N. The specific correlates of destruction are not discussed in the preliminary reports of the Israeli excavations. (A. Mazar 1997: 69). Excavators suggest that "the destruction of this building is evidence of some traumatic event in the history of Beth-Shean which apparently took place some time during the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty." (A. Mazar 1997: 69).

Chronology for Destruction: Among the pottery found in this destruction "were Egyptian storage jars, sherds of Cypriot imports, and a complete 'collared rim' pithos, one of the earliest examples of its type yet found in Israel." (A. Mazar 1997: 68). The excavators suggest that the destruction did not take place until "the reign of Merneptah or shortly thereafter" (A. Mazar 1997: 69).

Subsequent Activity: Egyptian activity at Beth-Shean seems to continue until the end of Stratum Lower VI, which is believed to correspond to the reign of Ramesses III, Ramesses VI or VIII (Garfinkel 1967; A. Mazar 1993c: 118, 119; 1993a: 218). This occupational level of the city was violently destroyed in conflagration, creating a layer of fallen mudbrick over 1 m thick. Excavators suggest that this destruction represents the end of Egyptian domination at the site and may have been caused by several factors: 1. A revolt of the local Canaanite population suppressed by the Egyptians. 2. A group led by one of the

"Sea Peoples" who settled in the region at the time of ethnic movements and decline of Egyptian power.³ The race of Transjordanian Midianites or the vassals of Harodi and Jezreei and the Israelite response documented in the Gideon narrative (Judg. 7-8). Finally the clashing of local Israelite tribes (A. Mazar 1993a: 217).

The second possibility is unlikely due to the lack of pottery distinctive of the "Sea Peoples" specifically the Philistines in subsequent strata (A. Mazar 1993a: 229-31; Negbi 1991). But it may be that they simply destroyed the city and did not reoccupy the site after its destruction. At any rate, several historical associations are possible but require further controlled analysis from both textual and archaeological sources.

Assessment. There is no evidence that Ramses II militarily attacked the city of Beth Shan. Level VII had a continuous, unbroken history and its final destruction is dated after his reign. Ramses II may have visited this site on a route north in Year 8 and constructed a stela as an act of reestablishing his authority and dominion over the region. This would fit with the increased trading activity occurring in Level VII. However, the presence of Ramses II at Beth Shan was a reaffirming action of his hold over this territory and not one of military aggression.

Gaza

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Amy* appears once in the list of conquered towns at the Ramesside dated Year 8. The text reads: "Town *dm* which His Majesty plundered *dy* in year 8 *Amy*" (ARI II 148 L).

Identification. This toponym was identified with Gaza in the Lebanese Galilee (Aharoni 1957: 65; 1967: 169; Aharoni 1981: 23).

History of Investigation. Aharoni (1957: 65) conducted surveys in this region but the site has not yet been thoroughly excavated.

Dor

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Dary* is mentioned for the first time in Ramses II's topographical list at Amara West (ARI II 210, L1).

Identification. There has been some discussion about the reading of this toponym. Givon (1979: 138) has equated it with *Rady* occurring on the topographical list of Ramses III (Simons 1937: 111).

List XXVII). This reading assumes that the *t* is a corruption of an original *z*, since the two are similar in hieratic script. Others have rejected this (Aharoni 1979: 182), but admit that there may be some problems, since much of the Amara West list was copied from the Soleb list of Amenhotep III or derives from a similar source (Ahitav 1984: 19-20, 88 note 151). Due to the difficulties in the reading, the identification of *Tuist* with the coastal port of Dor remains uncertain. Since the excavators of Tell Dor, located on the Mediterranean coast south of modern Haifa, have referred to this designation in the topographical list as the first occurrence of this city's name, the archaeological remains of this city are worth investigating.

History of Investigation. Tell Dor has been extensively excavated during thirteen seasons spanning from 1880 to 1997 under the direction of L. Stern of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Stern and Sharon 1987, 1993; Stern, Golboa, and Sharon 1989, 1992; Stern, Berg, and Sharon 1991; Stern 1993; 1994).

Archaeological Data. Preliminary reports suggest that the site was occupied during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Pottery from the Middle Bronze Age was discovered during the 1989 season in Area BI under Iron Age rampart fortifications. No Late Bronze sherds were found (Stern, Berg, and Sharon 1991: 60-61). Soundings next to the shore have shown that Middle Bronze IIA remains reached the water's edge. Although some pottery from the Late Bronze Age was recovered out of context, no architecture has been identified for either period (Stern 1993: 3-8). During the Early Iron Age, following a massive destruction (Stern and Sharon 1993: 39-40), the city was resettled and flourished during subsequent periods. Further excavations are necessary to elucidate the Late Bronze period, although the settlement of the Sackelash at this site may account for a destruction at the end of the period. This would require a careful analysis of distinction between correlates that may differ from one invading force or another.

Assessment. Given the problems of (1) the reading of the toponym, (2) the question of historicity for the list on which it appears, and (3) the lack of archaeological evidence, due caution should accompany the association of *Tuist* with Dor.

Sharhan/Sharuhen

Occurrences and Context. The entry *Shn* occurs once on the topographical lists at Amara West 67 (partially preserved, *ARI*

II 216, 10, Ahnau 1984: 171 but is probably copied from the earlier list of Amenhotep III at Soleb or derives from a similar source of Ramey 1993: 181. Thus, it is unlikely that Ramses II campaigned at the site.

Identification. Suggestions for the identification of the site continue to be offered (cf. Lwak 1992). Identifications include: 1 Tell el-Shar'a (Hebrew Tell Sera meaning watering hole; Knobel 1851; Grove 1863: 127); Conder and Kitchener 1882: 3312; 2 Tell el-Fâr'ah South, Albright 1920b: 7, 1933: 13-14, 228-229, 238; Ah 1959b: 423-425; Noth 1953: 93; 3 Tell el-'Ajjal (Kempinski 1974, 1993) and 4 Tell Haror (Abu Hureira; Ramey 1988: 100). Each of these sites contains rich LB remains. However, an attempt to identify this toponym with a site contemporary to Ramses II is a moot point since the toponym was copied from earlier lists.

Yeno'am

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Yeno'am* appears five times in epigraphical lists of Ramses II: (1) twice at Luxor (List XX: 1 [partially preserved]; *ARI* II 78-9; List XXI: 30 [partially preserved]; *ARI* II 177-1); (2) Station A at Luxor (List XXIIa: 18; *ARI* II 194); (3) Station B by the west crossway at Luxor (List XXIII: 2; *ARI* II 84-5), and (4) a topographical list at Karnak (List XXIV: 29; *ARI* II 163, 14). These toponyms are probably copied from earlier lists, making Ramses II's campaign to this site unlikely (Ahnau 1984: 17-19).

Summary

The survey of research has shown that there is an increased complexity in assessing the military campaigns of Ramses II. This may be due to two factors: (1) The reign of Ramses II was the longest in the history of Egypt. This can cause difficulties in attempts to provide an accurate reconstruction of his campaigns; (2) Many of the toponyms occur only on topographical lists that are suspected of having been copied from earlier sources (i.e. Amenhotep III or Seti I). This would mean that Ramses II did not campaign at these sites but is claiming for himself the victory of earlier military campaigns; (3) The archaeological evidence for the Late Bronze Age in Transjordan is difficult to interpret in terms of sedentary occupation and the continuity of city habitation; (4) The campaigns of Ramses II in the majority of cases cannot be adequately tested due to the lack of excavation. Despite

these challenges a number of important conclusions may be drawn from the evidence investigated in this section.

The evidence points to a minimum of six campaigns during the reign of Ramses II. The first campaign to the southern Levant is assumed on the basis of the Nahr-el-Kalb Middle Stela dated to Year 4 = ca. 1274-73 B.C. No specific sites are mentioned in connection with this campaign thus precluding archaeological analysis. The following year (Year 5, ca. 1273-72 B.C.) one of the most frequently recorded campaigns took place. The famous "Battle of Kadesh," which took the Egyptians north into Syria, is communicated ten times throughout Egypt in two textual accounts and in relief. The textual and iconographic evidence points toward an open-terrain battle. Such a battle would leave little preserved in archaeological contexts. Moreover, the city of Kadesh itself was apparently never reached by the Egyptian forces.

The third campaign took place in Year 8 and possibly 9 (ca. 1271-1270 B.C.) and is based on the sites specifically shown in relief dated to Year 8 and described on the first pylon at the Ramessum with parallels at Karnak and Luxor in Thebes. The sites indicate that the military of Ramses II campaigned in northern Galilee (Beth 'Azah, Cana, and Menot), along the northern coastal plain (Akko) and primarily in Syria (Dapur, Muur, Senua, Tunip, etc.). Many Syrian sites have not been positively identified and none of the proposed identifications have been thoroughly excavated. Only one positively identified site mentioned in this campaign has been excavated. The city of Akko unfortunately leaves little stratigraphic evidence from the LB III period. Artzy's personal communication and the discrepancies in the preliminary reports make an analysis at this time impossible. It is likely that these campaigns of Ramses II were not widely destructive but punitive in nature. Most of the sites are described as being plundered *by* or 'carried off' *by* them. These actions may include partial destructions of the city, especially to the gate area, as indicated in some of the reliefs. However, the primary goal of Ramses II seems to have been to secure these northern regions after the apparent mixed victory at Kadesh in Year 5. Once the northern regions were secure, the king was able to focus his attention further east.

The repeated mention of Moab and those settlements/cities located within its region (Dibon, Be'er, etc.) indicate that forces under the direction of Ramses II attempted to bring these regions under

Egypt's control, once again sometime after Year 9 ca. 1270 B.C. That these toponyms were proper settlements is made clear by their representation as fortresses in the reliefs and the Egyptian designation *dml*, "town" that is associated with each toponym. Moab is clearly identified as a land/nation/geographical territory by the repeated determinative for "land-country" and the further designation *z*, "large." The textual evidence indicates explicitly that these sites were "plundered" (*ḥf*) by the Egyptians. This does not indicate wholesale destruction but an occasional interest in plunder and booty.

There are several archaeological issues that confront the identification of the specific toponyms in Moab. Dixon, *loc. cit.* with known sites. All of the toponyms identified show little sign of LB occupation, and 2. There is no agreement on the identification. The main reason for these difficulties is the lack of stratigraphic excavation at these sites and others. Although major advances continue to be made in surveying the region to establish general settlement patterns, this type of research cannot replace thorough stratigraphic excavation. Indeed, other parts of Transjordan and the Jordan Valley contain numerous well-dated LB excavated settlements that have produced a variety of wealth in material culture and architecture. This indicates that the areas east of the Jordan were also rich in resources through different means of exchange. It was an area seized by both pastoralists and settled peoples during the Late Bronze Age. Sites like Tel. Jalul provide encouragement to field archaeologists who will be able to produce significant results when sites are excavated with some of the detailed research questions outlined in this study. In summary, according to the present data available, there is no reason to doubt the clear meaning of the Egyptian texts and iconography concerning a campaign to Moab under Ramses II.

It is probable that two more campaigns took place in the tenth and eighteenth years of Ramses II, based on the Nahr el-Kalb Stele Year 10 and the Beth Shan Stele Year 18. Both texts are vague as to the details of these campaigns. However, their placement at these strategic sites indicates that the area witnessed the stabilizing force of the Egyptian military once again. In November-December Year 2 ca. 1268 B.C., a treaty was signed by both Hattusili III and Ramses II. Egyptian version: Wilson 1969d; Haran 1980; Kitchen 1996: 79-81; Hittite version: Goetze 1964. It was strengthened by the marriage of the Hittite princess, daughter of Hattusili, and Ramses in Year 34 ca. 1245 B.C. (Eaton 1973a; Kitchen 1982: 83-88).

1996: 86-99. A period of apparent peace lingered between the two empires for their remaining years. Unfortunately, the same could not be said for other parts of the southern Levant. Only a few years would pass before the successor of Ramses II would once again be required to forge his way to the north.

MERENPTAH

General Chronology

Merenptah, the thirteenth son of Ramses II, became king of Egypt as an elderly man (Kitchen 1962: 215). The accession date of Merenptah has recently been limited to 11 days within 2nd Akhet from a West Theban graffito (Peder 1994: 6), narrowing the previous suggestion by Kitchen (1984: 550 note 3). Helck proposed, on the basis of his successor Amnemesse, that the length of Merenptah's reign could have been as short as 9 years, 11 months (Helck 1955: 43; *Laat erwingen* p. 149n16). Helck went to the other extreme suggesting a reign of 29 years (Helck 1983: 733-734) following Rowton, who had made a similar suggestion earlier (Rowton [1948: 71-73] proposed 20 years). But Helck based his argument on hieratic docketts from the Ramesside era that could just as well have belonged to Ramses II or Ramses III (Wente and van Sichen 1976: 236). The latest date during Merenptah's reign is Year 11 (Wente and van Sichen 1976: 235; Papyrus Salher I, 3, 4). Moreover, in his research on genealogies, Bierbrier strongly protests against a long reign for Merenptah (Bierbrier 1971). Based on his argument, most scholars conclude that Merenptah reigned for 20 years (Hornung 1984; Hayes 1959; 1970; Rowton 1959; 1960; 1966; Redford 1966, 1973; Bierbrier 1971; 1978; Wente and van Sichen 1976; Helck 1987; Krauss 1989a; Casperson 1988; Kitchen 1987, 1989a; 1992a; Ward 1992a). The low chronology (1213-1213 BC) is followed in this study.

Toward a Chronology of the Asiatic Campaign

Merenptah's military accomplishments, despite his old age, were widespread, according to the inscriptional evidence. Only one campaign into the southern Levant is recorded between years 2 and 5. A

Merenptah campaigned in Palestine" (ARE 3: 59 H. R. Hall 1913: 376, went on to say "It is claimed that in his third year Merenptah was compelled to subdue the land of Israel, restricted Asiatic domination in Egypt. The main motives of the revolt seem to have been the Israelites . . ." While some of these statements seemed to go beyond the actual textual evidence, many scholars remained convinced that a campaign to the southern Levant did occur under the reign of Merenptah (Petrie 1905; Breasted ARE: 1912; Meyer 1906; 1928; Gardiner 1908; Youssouf 1908; Marnett 1917; Dwyer-Laurie Wright 1914; Reinisch 1914; Dwyer 1915; Faulkner 1975; Weinstein 1981; Krauss 1981; Singer 1983; Yaron 1986; 1991; 1992; 1993; Halpern 1992; Murnane 1992; Nieu 1992; Warr 1992b; Ahström 1986, 1991, 1993; Kitchen 1966b; 1982; 1993b).

Lehtinen 1976: * 3. The geographical names mentioned in the Merenptah Stela have been interpreted to represent enemies in Egypt rather than in Canaan (Nbbi 1989). Each of these points of debate requires further investigation.

The historicity of the campaign has been supported by a number of scholars using both philological and archaeological arguments. The Amada inscription contains as part of the titulary of Merenptah the designation "conqueror of Gezer" which corroborates the claim of a campaign to this city-state on the Merenptah Stela. The recent reassessment of depictions in the Karnak reliefs has also been presented as supporting evidence for Merenptah's campaign (Yurco 1986, 1990; 1991; cf. Stager 1985a). Previously assigned to Ramses II (Wiesznanski 1917, Pls. 17-58b), Gardner 1961, 205-64, Kitchen 1964-68, late 9, these reliefs have been reassigned to Merenptah (Yurco 1986, 1990) because of the representation of three city-states and a people. Yurco concludes that the three city-states represent Asdkejen, Gezer, and Yene'am, while the pictorial of a den people denotes Israel (1990: 196), but see Ramsey 1991, 1392-94.

It is evident from the literature that questions regarding the historicity of Merenptah's alleged campaign to Canaan have been intensely debated. These are questions that must be addressed from both a textual and an archaeological perspective. Textual analysis of other military records could elucidate the difficulties faced in establishing genre and toponymic identifications. Archaeological evidence from sites mentioned in the texts would provide information regarding the type of destruction that the Egyptians caused as well as their assignment to a specific campaign (Figure 14).

* The genre of the Merenptah Stela has been described as hymnic (Wilson 1968) or poetic (Lehtinen 1976). This assignment to some scholars the genre of the stela includes its historicity (Bekken 1919; Holik 1913: 24). However, the disagreement among scholars concerning the genre classification of the stela warrants caution when applying genre studies to Egyptian texts. Further study is needed to determine what exact genre has or historicity. However, events can be and were celebrated in several genres at once. The structure of the entire stela has recently been analyzed (Hornung 1989; Fecht 1983; Fecht 1993) concludes that Egyptian prose writing was not accompanied by meter (see Chapter One, 150).

Many have placed significance in the meter employed in describing the Canaanite campaign for ascertaining the locations the enemies mentioned (Ahlström and Kahlman 1985; Stager 1985b; Yurco 1990; Ahlström 1991; Bimson 1991; Havel 1994). Various structures have been proposed which place the enemies mentioned in numerous contexts. Such study is dependent on a knowledge of Egyptian language during the New Kingdom and on the geopolitical reality reflected in archaeological work.

Archaeological Correlates for Military Activity

In this section each toponym identified as a city in the final hymnic poetic unit of the Merneptah Stela will be analyzed according to the occurrences and context identification, history of investigation and archaeological data to elucidate the destruction correlates present and to establish the corresponding political and geographical contexts.

Ashkelon

Occurrences and Context The toponym *ḥskl* *in* appears on the Merneptah Stela (ARI IV 19,5) and on the Karnak reliefs (Wreszinski 1933: Taf. 38-38a). The toponym is widely translated as Ashkelon (Speigelberg 1896; Breasted 1906; Wilson 1908a; Givon 1975c; M. Tachibana 1975; Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; Altam 1984; Kaplany-Heckel 1985; Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986, 1990). In the Merneptah Stela the text reads "Ashkelon has been carried off *in*." Here the verb *in* appears in the 3rd perfective and according to the semantic context of this word in other accounts may only imply the carrying off of booty and tribute from this city. However, if the reliefs at Karnak are to be assigned to Merneptah (Yurco 1986) there may be further evidence of military action taken against this city. Egyptian soldiers are shown with siege ladders, scaling the walls of the city. Another soldier appears to be hacking down the city gate (Wreszinski 1933: Taf. 38). The inhabitants of the city are shown before the king in supplication and even appear to be lowering their shields from the walls in the hope that their sacrifice would appease the Egyptians. The inscription next to this relief states, "Vile *ḥskl* town that His Majesty carried off *in* while wicked *ḥnt*: Ashkelon." This text uses the identical verb *in* to describe the action taken against the toponym, confirming that this city, its inhabitants, and material wealth was "carried off" as plunder.

Identification. Ashkelon is located on the Mediterranean coast about 39 miles south of Tel Aviv and 10 miles north of Gaza. Its occupation dates from the Chalcolithic to Mamluk periods. During the Middle Bronze Age II (Iron I and II) and Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab periods, the city was enormous for the southern Levant—nearly 150 acres in area (Stager 1993: 103). The site is identified in other important textual sources including the Execration texts (Aharoni 1984: 70; cf. Posener 1940; Sethe 1926), the

Amarna letters (EA 320-326; Moran 1992), the Onomasticon of Amenope (early eleventh century B.C.), the Hebrew Bible, Assyrian and Babylonian records, Hellenistic accounts (Letter of Aristeas, ca. 150 B.C.) as well as later Roman and Byzantine records.

History of Investigation In 181— a 'treasure hunting' expedition was led by Lady H. Stanhope. Among her discoveries was a large pteryle hasheia² as well as a statue of a cuirassed soldier, most likely a Roman emperor, which she later ordered smashed. The first scientific excavation was conducted in 1921-1922 by J. Garstang and his assistant W. J. Phythian-Adams. In several trenches (Grid 38, and between Grids 50 and 58 of the Harvard University excavations) he uncovered Bronze and Iron Age remains and directly identifiable aspects of Philistine culture (Garstang 1941; 1922; 1924; Phythian-Adams 1921; 1925a). Since 1983 the Leon Levy Expedition has conducted the first large-scale modern excavations sponsored by the Harvard Semitic Museum and directed by J. L. Stager.

Archaeological Data The Late Bronze Age remains at Ashkelon have witnessed very limited exposure. In Grid 50 a cuneiform lexical text was found on an LB II surface. Further horizontal exposure is required to clarify the archaeological context. The nature of the cuneiform tablets suggests that a scribal school existed in Ashkelon (Stager personal communication 1). A series of cuneiform tablets, silos, brick ovens, and burials were found in Grid 58 (lower during the Harvard excavations). In the excavations by Garstang and Phythian-Adams, several XIXth Dynasty alabaster vessels and a basalt statue with a hieroglyphic inscription were found. Although no Late Bronze fortification system has been uncovered, the Karnak reliefs depict a fortified city located on a tell named Ashkelon (Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986; 1990; see Figure 6, 50).

a. Destruction Correlates In the seaboard section (Grids 50 and 57) Phythian-Adams found a major destruction separating Stage V (Late Bronze) from Stage VI (Philistine). No evidence of this destruction has been found as yet in Grid 38, although horizontal exposure there has been very limited. At this time it is unclear whether the Phythian-Adams' destruction is major or quite local. It does not appear in his section in Grid 38 (Stager personal communication 1). If it is a major destruction, it is not yet clear whether it should be associated with the campaign of Merenptah, which would mean that the Philistines took over a deserted city, or with the 'Sea Peoples' (i.e. Philistines). No



Figure 1. Map of cities mentioned in the military accounts of Merneptah:
1. Ashkelon, 2. Gezer, 3. Tell Yis'am (Yeno'am).

definite indication of this major destruction has been found during the Harvard excavations (Stager 1993: 107; personal communication a). Further excavation may provide additional evidence to clarify this question.

b. Subsequent Activity. Beginning in 1180 to 1175 B.C. Ashkelon was occupied by the Philistines (Stager 1991: 13; 1993: 107, 1993a) as is attested by the Mycenaean IIIc.1b pottery at the site; architectural

features, and the records of Ramses III (Stager 1983b, 1991: 13-199a; cf. A. Mazar 1983b, Singer 1985, but see I. Dothan 1982a, Dothan and Dothan 1992).

Assessment Further excavation of the Late Bronze Age horizon at Ashkelon is required before an assessment of the archaeological data can be made pertaining to the campaign during the reign of Merenptah.

Gezer

Occurrences and Context The toponym *ḫṣr* occurs on the Amada Stela (ARI IV 1.9) and the Merenptah Stela (ARI IV 1.5) and is translated as Gezer (Spiegelberg 1910; Breasted 1912; Wilson 1909b; M. Lichtheim 1976; Grosshammer 1977; Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; Ahitov 1984; Kaplony-Heckel 1985; Yurco 1980, 1990). On the Amada Stela Merenptah is called 'Plunderer *ḫṣr* of Gezer'. This title implies that Merenptah took some action against Gezer, although it does not imply what type of action, i.e. whether it was widely destructive or merely punitive and oriented toward booty and plunder. In the Merenptah Stela the statement 'Gezer has been seized *nh*' appears. Here the implication is that Gezer has been captured and subjugated by Egypt. Other aggressive activity is not outrightly mentioned. Each of these statements appearing in two different sources strongly suggest that an action against Gezer was taken during the reign of Merenptah.

Identification Early excavations at Tell Jezer (Tell e-Jazer), a 33-acre site located 1 mile south of Ramleh, established this as the site of Gezer mentioned in Egyptian, Assyrian, and biblical texts (Dever 1992a, 1998). It is situated 220 m above sea level on the last foothills of the Judean range in the northern Shephelah, guarding a most important crossroad (Dorsey 1991: 65-66; cf. Dever, Lance, Wright 1973: 1). Site identification is confirmed by seven stones found along the ridges south and east of the tell, many carrying the inscription *ḥm gṣr* meaning 'boundary of Gezer' (Macalister 1912a: 37-4; cf. Dever, Lance, Wright 1970: 2; Rosenfeld 1988; Reel 1990; Schwartz 1990).

History of Investigation Early excavations at the site were undertaken by R. A. S. Macalister (1912a, 1912b, 1912c, from 1902-1909). Modern excavations were conducted by the Hebrew Union College and the Harvard Semitic Museum from 1968-74 under the direction of G. E. Wright, W. G. Dever, and J. Seger. Two excava-

excavations aimed at addressing specific questions were conducted in 1984 under the direction of W. G. Dever (Dever 1986) and in 1990 under the coordination of W. G. Dever and R. W. Younger (Dever and Younger 1991, Younger 1991, Dever 1993a).

Archaeological Data. The site of Gezer was occupied during the Chalcolithic, Early Bronze and Middle Bronze Ages. During the Middle Bronze Age IIIB-C period, Gezer reached its zenith of power (Dever 1993d: 500). The city suffered a major destruction at the end of the Middle Bronze II period that has been attributed by the excavators to the military campaigns of Thutmose IV (Dever, Lance; Wright 1974: 34-35; Thutmose III Dever 1974: 36; Dever 1987, 1987-1990: 78-79; Weinstein 99) and Amenhotep I or Thutmose I (Weinstein 1985: 1) or to other causes (Redford 1970: 1982b, Shea 1979; Hoffmeier 1980: 598-599, 1991). Following this destruction, the LB I strata are scanty with one cave (L. A known from Stratum XVII and other remains). In the LB II period the city once again flourished in the Archaic Age II's correlative period Stratum XVI that excavators have placed the construction of the Outer Wall (Younger 1991, Dever 1989, 1993a, Segev 1993), others a gate sys-

¹¹ The controversy over the date of the Outer Wall at Gezer continues to be heated, with a recent flurry of articles (Younger 1991, Dever 1993a, Finkelstein 1993). The excavators, following Mazar, have argued that the entire structure in its first phase is to the Late Bronze period with a somewhat gap before an addition is built during the reign of Solomon (tenth century B.C.). The monumental gate was built in the ninth/eighth century B.C. (Younger 1991: 203-211 note 2, Dever 1993a: 38). The Late Bronze date of the wall is buttressed by the 1990 excavations, which revealed that the lower parts of the exterior of the Outer Wall (Locus 2204) contained "dozens of fine Late Bronze pottery shims. Furthermore, the construction technique of the wall showed several phases of construction. The lower section was "built of large boulders of fairly uniform size laid out in uniform courses, while the upper sections were not as well constructed. Moreover, "the middle section of the wall is clearly inset from the bottom section by about 50 cm. This would indicate two phases of construction" (Younger 1991: 203 note 2).

Others, primarily from Tel Aviv University, continue to argue that the Outer Wall was built as one or two phases during the Iron II period (Hammowitz 1993, Finkelstein 1993, 1991-1992). They maintain that the new evidence is of the Iron II wall was actually a fill taken from an earlier Late Bronze deposit. This seems buttressed by an iron arrowhead found outside in the lowest locus 22020. However, this single arrowhead might also come from LB III (Dever 1993a: 33 note 33). Having excavated these squares in 1990, I would support the interpretation that the Outer Wall dates to the Late Bronze Age.

A further possible argument in support of the Late Bronze date for the Outer Wall is to date the lower gate house to LB I (Younger 1991). This bold interpretation would add to Dever's statement that "the city wall . . . is unique in being one of the few defense systems originally constructed in the Late Bronze Age and not reused from

tem Yaras 1994, water system Dever 1969¹ and possible "Governor's" Residence Singer 1980, 1988; Baranowitz 1988-89; Yonker 1991: 23-25; Dever 1993a: 40. These sources of evidence indicate that Gezer seems to have been a major city during LB III (Stratum XV). Subsequent occupation continues through the Iron Ages, Persian, Hellenistic, and modern periods (Dever 1992a).

a. *Destruction Correlates.* The end of General Stratum XV is said to "present a problem" (Dever 1992a: 1001-1003d: 504). There is no uniform destruction that encompasses the entire site, but rather an uneven distribution of correlates. Each of the correlates must be analyzed by fields.

In Field II Stratum 13 was violently destroyed in a conflagration that left considerable *in situ* evidence (Dever 1986: 2). Large quantities of smashed pottery and other objects were left lying below masonry and roof collapse of a heavily battered courtyard. The destruction layer also contained two finely worked *larnax* cylinder seals of Late Mycenaean style (Dever *et al.* 1971: 109). The excavator suggests that this was a localized destruction due to the lack of conflagration in other fields (Dever 1993d: 504).

Field I contains no evidence of destruction but a distinct gap was discerned between Phases 1 and 4. Phase 4 already contains Late Bronze pottery, indicating that the gap was brief. This gap in occupation is more evident in Field VI where there is a interlude after General Stratum XV, designated by the excavators as Stratum XIV. This stratum was marked by the digging of pits for stone robbing and the disposal of refuse (Dever 1990: 204). The following phase witnesses the introduction of Philistine pottery

an earlier period" (Dever 1993d: 503). Indeed, it might also add further credibility to the location of the four-entrance gate in this location in Solomon nearly three centuries later, since the tradition for a gate in this area would have been long established. At this time, however, there is no ceramic evidence for the LB date of this structure. Moreover, one would need to account for the construction of the gate over the original line of the drain, indicating a later date for the gate structure. Conclusions for this reinterpretation gate would need to take into account this stratigraphic difficulty and other lines of evidence, such as ceramics, for a secure assignment.

The entrance and entire water system at Gezer were excavated by Macalister to bedrock (1929: 265-267; 2: Pl. I-II). This precludes any former stratigraphic analysis with modern excavation techniques. Dever (1983: 76-77) proposed that the water system should be dated to the Late Bronze Age based on the linear stratigraphic evidence to be gleaned from Macalister's reports. Others, however, have made a comparison with the water systems dug during the ninth-eighth century B.C. at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gibeon (Yadin 1969: 7).

b. Subsequent Activity. After the hiatus assigned as Stratum XIV the Philistine period is well attested from Strata XIII to XI. There appears to be continuity in the painted pottery and architecture throughout this period despite three major destructions that are evident in the archaeological context. Two courtyard houses in the upper terrace were destroyed at the end of the twelfth century B.C. Two to three Philistine phases were also documented in Heats I and II with less disruptive transitions (Dever 1993d: 304).

Assessment. Excavators have attributed the end of General Stratum XV to the military campaign of Merenptah (Dever, *et al.* 1971: 28; Dever 1974: 10; 1980: 8). The destruction correlates can be attributed to Egyptian military activity instead of Philistine or Israelite forces for several reasons. First, the gap between Strata XV and XIII suggests a sort of hiatus between the destruction of the city at the end of Stratum XV and the appearance and influence of the Philistine material culture. Although the site could have been militarily attacked by the Philistines and left abandoned for some years, this practice does not seem indicative of Philistine military and settlement patterns. At Ashdod, Tel Mique, and Tell Qasile there is immediate occupation after the site is destroyed. Secondly, the constructions associated with the Philistines at these sites are generally comprehensive in nature. The sites are in every case completely destroyed by fire. This suggests that the Philistines were not necessarily responsible for the destructions at Gezer. It is also unlikely that the Israelites were. The literary narrative is explicit that Gezer was not taken during the conquest (Josh 15:10; Judg 1:29; Dever 1992a: 90).

The correlation of the end of Stratum XV with the campaigns of Merenptah seems sound on the basis of the archaeological, textual, and iconographic evidence. The texts do not mention that Gezer was completely destroyed. The archaeological evidence at Gezer corresponds to this picture. There is little evidence of conflagration. The limited destruction in Field II may simply be a localized occurrence that took place by accident during the ravaging of Merenptah's forces. Other parts of the city appear not to be destroyed at all. There is no evidence of when the Late Bronze Age Outer Wall went out of use or that it suffered destruction (but see Bunimowitz 1988-89). Instead there is a period of decreased activity and Gezer for some time is reduced to a minor city-state.

This reducing effect left the city defenseless and gave the Egyptians the possibility of erecting a "Governor's Residency to control the region of the Shephelah" (Singer 1986, 1988: 3-4; Yonker 1991: 23-25; Dever 1993a: 40¹). The population that remained might have served both local and Egyptian interests. Thus, the Philistines could benefit from a conquered city, establishing a presence in this strategic location as Egyptian influence weakened in the southern Levant subsequent to the reign of Merenptah.

Yeno'am

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Ynm* appears once in the Merenptah Stela (KRI IV 193). It is identified as the same toponym mentioned in the military accounts of Seti I and Ramses II.

Identification. See (147-148)

History of Investigation. See (148)

Archaeological Data. See (148-149)

Assessment. The problem of identifying the location of Yeno'am has hindered attempts to reconstruct the campaign route of Merenptah (Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1968: 42; Na'aman 1977; Yonker 1990). Further excavation and research are required before the identification of Yeno'am can be solved.

Summary

The chronology of an Egyptian campaign to the southern Levant during the reign of Merenptah is well established between the first and fourth years of his reign. As Kitchen has correctly stated, it is most likely that "a punitive campaign under (not by) Merenptah, or perhaps by the crown prince, the future Sethos II, fits the case perfectly" (Kitchen 1993b: 30). In the case that a campaign took place in Year 1 (Kitchen 1993b: 30) or between Years 2-3 (Yonker 1990: 30), Seti II would still have had much to gain by leading off in such a campaign. The mention and depiction of cities like Ashkelon,

¹ Egyptian influence at Gezer is corroborated by the earlier discovery of a stela inscribed with the name of Merenptah (Pitchev 1982: 23). Objects inscribed with the name of Merenptah are extremely rare in the southern Levant, having appeared at sites like Beth Shear, Tell el-Faraj, S. Tellin, Ugarit, and Tell Maqat-Hamir (Singer 1986: 2). One personal inscription, thus, should need not be associated with military activity but nevertheless is an indication of Egyptian presence or influence at Gezer.

Gezer and Yenoam provide the context for this campaign to Canaan/*Hittu* (see Appendix).

The archaeological contexts analyzed above provide significant evidence for the destruction correlates of Egyptian military activity in the case of Gezer while other sites require further excavation and publication before assessments can be made. At Gezer a mixed portrait emerges for the end of General Stratum XV. Some fields (I and VI) show no evidence of destruction but only a subsequent gap in the occupational history. On the other hand, the partial destruction of Field II, where localized conflagration is evident, demonstrates clearly that some destructive activity took place. These correlates seem to be indicative of Egyptian military tactics, as is evident in the texts. This does not include comprehensive conflagration. The aim is not to annihilate the city. The city is captured and booty is taken back to Egypt. Whether Gezer was developed into an Egyptian stronghold remains uncertain, although the type of destruction would not preclude this possibility. What is certain is that Gezer's strength was diminished significantly enough for the Philistines, only a few years after Egyptian control in the region subsided, to occupy Gezer without inflicting further damage to the city.

On the basis of this evidence it is probable that the success of his punitive campaign under Merenptah to quell the rebellious elements in the southern Levant was short-lived. After his death Seti II and Tawosret were preoccupied with matters closer to home and were not able to contain the mounting instability of Egypt's Asiatic frontier. Ramses III, nearly a decade later, once again reestablished Egyptian military dominance over the region.

CONCLUSIONS

The textual and toponymic records indicate that Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah all campaigned in the southern Levant. Sites, geographical territories, and societhnic groups are frequently mentioned in the literature. Over twenty toponyms were investigated in this chapter. Many of the sites identified as these toponyms provided significant results. Other sites require further stratified excavations and/or publication before conclusions may be reached. Nevertheless, several general conclusions may be drawn concerning the destruction correlates at these sites.

1. At most sites that exhibit destruction correlates, the extent of the destruction is complete, encompassing the entire area of excavation. Pella, Beth Shan, Levels IXa and VII, Hazor, Stratum 1A [Lower City], Stratum XIV [Upper City], Tell Yincam. Temples are burned, Hazor, Area H Temple [Stratum 1A]; palaces are destroyed completely (Hazor, Area A Palace [Stratum XIV]); gates and defensive structures are demolished with fire, Hazor, Area K Gate [Stratum 1B], and domestic buildings are included in the destruction, Beth Shan, Pella, Tell Yincam.

There are only two sites that exhibit signs of partial, sporadic destruction and/or rebuilding. Gezer, Stratum XV, Hazor, Stratum 1B. At Gezer, Field II Local Stratum 13 was covered with evidence of intense conflagration while other fields displayed signs of only sporadic destruction. Field II was a small field why did excavators believe that this was a localized destruction. At Hazor, there is no evidence of burning in the lower city, Stratum 1B, only extensive rebuilding.

2. The means of destruction is also evident at most sites. Most frequently the destruction is accompanied by large amounts of ash, evidence of severe conflagration. Pella, Beth Shan, Levels IXa and VII, Hazor, Stratum 1A [Lower City], Stratum XIV [Upper City], Tell Yincam. There are no cases where evidence of siege equipment, i.e., battering ram, can be detected at archaeological contexts.¹⁰

3. Other sites exhibit no evidence of destruction even though they are mentioned in Egyptian accounts (Akko and Diban).

4. Many sites could not be archaeologically evaluated because excavations have not yet penetrated LB strata. Ashkelon, Beth Aathi, Gaza, Hammath Giza, and Dor and the identification of some toponyms with known sites is inconclusive. Aphaek, Dapur, Turup, and Yeno'am.

Although it is not possible from these partial data to achieve conclusive results, several general observations are in order. Archaeological interpretation on the basis of the evidence available is not yet able to determine with certainty the identification of a destruction level with any specific entity. This is due to the limitations of archaeological data. It is only on the basis of textual and corographic associations that many of the causative agents of a destruction can be

¹⁰ This is largely due to the lack of preservation of walls at these sites connecting with the gate. It may also be that evidence of this is not available or not investigated by excavators.

inferred. From the texts and iconography it is evident that although destruction language is used for some towns and villages, this contextual usage is exceedingly rare. In fact there is no evidence, textual or iconographic, that describes the wholesale conflagration of cities. Hittite¹ and Assyrian² texts do make these claims on a regular basis as annals and reliefs from the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser³ (14-147b B.C.), Ashur-Dan II (934-912 B.C.), Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.), Sennacherib III (858-824 B.C.), Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.) and Assarhaddon (684-645).

Hittite records indicate that conflagration was a major military tactic. Kussul 963: 159-166; Houwink ten Cate 1984: 1-18; 1984: 47-83; Younger 1990: 125-163. In the "Ten Year Annals" of Muršili II the burning of cities is often mentioned. *AB* II: 1 I 1-14: 1-15. Goetze 1933: 13-14; as is the case in the "Deeded Annals" *AB* IV: 4 Rs III: 43; Goetze 1933: 129-131; see Houwink ten Cate 1966: II: 1-15. On Hittite military organization see Göttinger 1974 and Beal 1990: 98-100.

¹ The Assyrians also often claimed to destroy many cities by conflagration in their inscriptions and iconography. On the iconography of Assyrian military activity see Bleibtreu 1990: 37-44. On the political and organizational aspects of the Assyrian military, see Saggs 1963; Soden 1963; Mayer 1985.

² According to the annals of Tiglath-Pileser for Assyria: "for as first, [ok] the gods of the city, then their honey, possessions and property, before burning, razing, and destroying their cities. The repeated formula read: 'I razed, destroyed and burned the cities' I 94-u.1 u.34-35 u.82 m.11-12; m.64-65; m.83-84 iv.3-4 iv.25-26; v.2-4; v.59-61; v.72-73; v.96-98; v.9-13; Text: Budge and King 190: 27, 108; Borger 1974-77: 161-16; Translations: Grayson 1976: 74-75; see Younger 1990: 9-8.

The first episode of military activity under Ashur-Dan II also shows the pattern of plundering, carrying off booty, followed by the burning of the cities. Lane 4; see Weidner 1926: 151-161; 1968-69: 75-77; Translution: Grayson 1976: 74-76; see Younger 1990: 90.

³ Ashurnasirpal II makes similar claims of burning conquered cities. I 73-74 166 172-173 174-175 176-177 u.18; u.4; u.15; u.49-50 177-178 u.10 u.4 u.94 u.93; ii.95; ii.111-112; m.23; m.3; m.32; m.38; m.44; m.54; m.83; m.99 m.70; Text: Budge and King 190: 20-38; Translations: Grayson 1976: 17-17.

On Sennacherib III: Marble Slabs are inscribed with the number 1 destroyed, 1 devastated, 1 burned with fire" Michel 1954: 38-39; Wiseman 1958: 46-50; see Younger 1990: 105-106. This is repeated on the Ašur Annal Fragment. Text: Michel 1949: 265-268; Younger 1990: 106-107; compare with Borger 1983: 365-366; and Kurba'd Stame. Line 16; Kramer Wilson 1962: 90-115.

In the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad reliefs depict an attack on the city of Kuthuwa in the Zagros mountains. Flames can be seen spreading from the inner towers of the city and two Assyrian soldiers are running to the city gate with torches to set it ablaze. Bleibtreu 1990: 42.

Sennacherib maintains in his second campaign: "And their small cities without number I destroyed, I devastated, I burned mountains. The houses of the steppe, the tents in which they dwell, burned with fire and turned them into ashes." I 1-20; Borger 1979: 68; Luckenoll 1983: 1; Younger 1990: 111-112. Similar statements are made in his fifth and seventh campaigns (iv.4-5; iv.8-11). These claims are

BC) indicate. Hittite claims of destructive military activity are confirmed by several texts from the Amarna letters. "It seems inconsistent that in the rhetoric of Egyptian accounts there would be no indication given if this was indeed part of Egyptian military practice. The lack of this evidence seems significant in itself. The implication is that the Egyptians did not burn these cities. While there is a strong probability that partial destructions did occur under the practice of "pampering and capturing" different cities, a wholesale destruction and conflagration were not part of Egyptian military activity.

In many cases there is evidence to indicate that the cities themselves need not have been directly attacked. The reports of the "Battle of Kadesh" indicate that most of the conflict occurred in the surrounding region and that Ramses II never reached the city. There is no direct evidence that Sidi ever laid siege to Pella. The First Beth Shan Stela confirms only that Pella was part of the rebellion against Beth Shan.

Some of the cities mentioned were already dominated by Egyptians (Beth Shan; Megiddo) and would hardly have been destroyed by the Egyptians themselves. Egyptian interests in exporting the southern Levant for economic, political, and ideological reasons would have precluded the wholesale destruction of these and other important centers.

Indeed, campaigns were conducted into the southern Levant under all three kings of the XIXth Dynasty. There is no reason to doubt that cities were plundered and captured, prisoners were taken, booty confiscated, grain destroyed and consumed, orchards cut down, so that the town could be used for the troops and timber for the building of siege equipment, but little of these activities would have left a mark at stratigraphic/archaeological complexes. At the present stage of research only Gezer shows the characteristics of what an Egyptian

is supported by the iconography accompanying the texts in Nineveh. Conquered cities show flames spreading from the gates and the tops of walls. Russell 1991: 65, Fig. 36; 67, Fig. 37; 70, Fig. 39.

A vivid relief in Ashurbanipal's north palace at Nineveh depicts the actions taken by the Assyrians against the city of Hamanu in Elam. Assyrian soldiers march out of the city in the foreground carrying vessels of plunder. Behind them, soldiers of the battering ram are systematically knocking down the walls of the city with axes and staffs. Fire is already consuming the inner towers behind them.

On the use of conflagration destruction by the Hittite military at sites in Syria-Palestine: see these descriptions in the Amarna letters, EA 1: 4, 175, 176; Moran 1992: 260-261.

"destruction" might have looked like. That no major or permanent damage was done is evident in the language used to describe the actions against Gezer and the possibility that an Egyptian residence was constructed here after the campaign.

This chapter indicates that the physical impact of Egyptian military activity on sites is less pronounced than often indicated in the secondary literature today. According to the textual and iconographic sources, the Egyptians do not seem to be responsible for the wide-scale destructions occurring in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. This is confirmed by the archaeological evidence at sites like Gezer. Like sites, socioethnic and geographic/sociocultural toponyms are also mentioned frequently in Egyptian campaign records and will be investigated separately to determine whether the Egyptians employed diverse military practices consistent with these types of entities.

CHAPTER THREE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT: SOCIOETHNIC AND SOCIOCULTURAL ELEMENTS

Egyptian military accounts of the XIXth Dynasty also contain toponyms of a different nature from the geographical territories or city-states discussed in the preceding chapter. The Egyptians distinguished these toponyms in their written and iconographic form as socioethnic (Israel) or geographic/sociocultural (*Ḥst*, "Shasu") entities. Since these are not city-states but other elements in Levantine society, the military actions employed by the Egyptians may have differed considerably. This chapter contains a detailed analysis of textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence pertaining to these entities in order to determine the military actions the Egyptians used against these types of elements.

ISRAEL

Egyptian Sources

Occurrences and Context

The term *Isrꜣt* appears for the first time on the Merneptah Stele. It is the oldest mention of the name Israel in an extrabiblical text and the only mention of this entity in Egyptian literature. The entity Israel is found in the context of two related clauses, "Israel is laid waste; its seed is not" (RI/IV 9). It may also be depicted in a scene dated to Merneptah at Karnak. The term *Isrꜣt* has been translated as Israel (Spiegelberg 1896, 308; Breasted 1912; Kitchen 1959a, 1965b; Wilson 1969b; M. Lichtheim 1973; Frey 1983; Hornung 1983; Kaplony-Heckel 1983; Goedicke 1983a; Yurco 1985, 1990; Murnane 1992; Havel 1994; Hoffmeier 1997: 30; [Isrꜣt/Israel Margalith 1990], Jezreel (Astefeldt 1990; Margalith 1990), or as something unrelated to the name Israel (Nili 1989).

Identification

Geographical interpretations have posited that the Israel of Merenptah was a socioethnic entity in Canaan that has been interpreted as 'proto-Israel' located in the central hill country (Dever 1992e, 1992f; T. L. Thompson 1992; Finkelstein 1993a), that Israel was a socioethnic entity located in Egypt (Nishi 1989; Rendburg 1992), that Israel consisted of a territory within Canaan in the central hill country (Ahlström and Edelman 1983; Lemche 1992) or that Israel refers to both a people and a territory within Canaan (Ahlström 1986; 1991, 1993; Edelman 1992). Socioeconomic interpretations have maintained that Israel was a nomadic tribal entity (Lemche 1988; Coote 1990; 1991; Binson 1991; Yurco 1991; Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994; cf. Rosel 1992) or that Israel was a sedentary entity (Stager 1985a; Dever 1992d, 1992f; Hasel 1994).

A new direction of study in the literary structure has contributed significantly to the debate of both the location of Israel and its identification as a geographical or socioethnic entity (Fecht 1983; Ahlström and Edelman 1983; Stager 1985b; Ahlström 1991, 1993; Yurco 1986, 1990; Binson 1991; Raney 1992). Understanding the structure of the hymnic poem *pt* is a significant source of reference for the identity (Hasel 1994; Hollmeier 1997; cf. Fecht 1983; see Appendix).

Another issue relates to the term *pt* 'seed' which is associated with the entity Israel. This term has been understood to refer to the 'descendants/offspring' of Israel (Liman 1923: 54b; Engel 1979; Stein 1982: 158; Fecht 1983: 20; Hornung 1983: 23; Halpern 1992; P. R. Davies 1992; Raney 1992: 195; Hollmeier 1997) or to Israel's 'grain' (Kaplan-Horke 1985; Ahlström 1990; Hasel 1994).

This phrase has been studied in the context of lexicography and semantic domain including contextual relationships of this phrase in other Egyptian literary accounts (Hasel 1994: 32-34).

The Name "Israel." The name Israel is known outside the Merenptah Stela in the form of a personal name mentioned twice in material from Ebla (ca. 2300 B.C.; Albertz 1987: 369), as a personal name on a tablet from Ugarit (RS 18.49.3; Vogt 1937: 375; Albertz 1987: 369; Margalith 1990: 223) in two Assyrian sources, the inscription by Shamshi-Adad III (ca. 833 B.C.; 3R of Z 92; Galling 1968: 50; H. Tadmor 1968) and the Mesha Stela (ca. 840 B.C.; Donner and Rollig 1962: 181; Dearman and Mattingly 1992: 708-709; Lemche

1992: 163, cf. Margalith 1990: 22) and in the recent stela fragment found at Tel Dan (ca. 850 B.C.; Biran and Naveh 1993). The earliest mention of Israel as a collective entity appears on the Merneptah Stela, though the particular interpretation of the name is debated.

The view that the term *Isrꜥꜥt* is unrelated to the people Israel of the Hebrew Bible is a position taken most recently by O. Margalith (1990). Margalith's conclusions are based on the suggestion by Dever (1948: 135) that the Egyptian *i* could also represent the Hebrew *z*. Accordingly, the name Israel could be translated as *Izrael*, which might be an inexperienced scribe's way of rendering Yezrael, 'he vowed to be north of his country' (Margalith 1990: 22). Margalith states: 'This would conform to the rest of the inscription which has local names: Ascalon, Gezer, Yansu, and so on, the pattern at the end "has no seed"' (1990: 22). He notes that the determinative for people and not town may have been a scribal error which is common in Egyptian epigraphy. Margalith concludes that Israel as a people is not known before the inscription on the Mesha stela (ca. 840 B.C.; Margalith 1990: 24).

A close analysis indicates that there are significant difficulties with this interpretation. Margalith begins with the hypothesis that the proper vocalization is *Izre*, or 'the people of the God who acts straight' (1990: 234). This is based on the Ugaritic vocalization of the name *Izre* with a *i* (1990: 228) followed by a complex argument which suggests a relationship with the Hebrew root *yṣr*, 'to be straight'. This term is found in several contexts in the Hebrew Bible both as an attribute of YHWH (1990: 232) and in reference to the worshippers of YHWH. The appellation of *izre* would be *Izre*, which could be an abbreviated *Izre*. Its development would have been from personal name to a tribal or ethnic name and finally to a national name. Margalith then proposes that the term may find its origin with the Sumerian title of the king of Ur 'KI-EN-GI' which he renders 'king of the Land of the God of right/true/faith' (1990: 253-254). Nevertheless, the Sumerian term 'KI-EN-GI' with little or no context is certainly not a more suitable translation than Israel in the Merneptah Stela which is found in a clear context and located in Canaan.

It is also curious that Margalith fails to mention any archaeological evidence pertaining to the Merneptah Stela (cf. Dever 1974; 1981). The numerous scholars that have played a significant part in the debate on the Merneptah Stela in recent years subsequent to Heick

1971, including Ahlström and Edelman 1983, Sager 1985b, Redford 1986a, Yurco 1982, 1980, are also not cited. This omission, coupled with the exclusion of certain textual evidence and several highly theoretical correlations, renders Margalith's interpretation at best inadequate, if not unacceptable.

A. Nibbi (1989) argues that the term Israel could actually be interpreted as "the wearers of a storlock" (1989: 10), and that it could have been applied to the Libyans who she maintains are accompanied by this designation.

Nibbi's hypothesis concerning the name Israel has been virtually ignored, and as she admits (1989: 73), it is based on an argument from silence. She suggests that all the entities mentioned in the hymn are to be located in the delta of Egypt. "The names of *Jasem* and *Qtr* which also appear in these last two lines cannot be accepted as *Jasem* and *Geger*" (1989: 93-94). This drastic reinterpretation has met with little acceptance since Nibbi's philological arguments are based largely on the assumption of scribal errors in a number of terms.

The interpretation that the term *Isra'el* of Merenptah actually refers to Jezreel has been maintained by only a few scholars. Finkel (1965), Margalith (1980), first, this reading has been—on more or less philologically delicate, if not impossible. Kitchen (1986b: 12) of Bimson (1991: 13). First, the Egyptian signs for "bolt" (Gardiner 1957: 496, Sign O34) and "folded cloth" (Gardiner 1957: 507, Sign S29) in Old Egyptian represented the sounds *i* and *r* respectively. By the Middle Kingdom both signs were used interchangeably for *i* (Hoffmeier 1990: 31) cf. Gardiner 1947: 7. Thus, during the New Kingdom, Hebrew *zayin* was rendered *g* or *i* in Egyptian and not as *r* (Helek 1971: 58) cf. 18 of Kitchen 1966a: 1, 1966b: 7. Second, the Egyptian *Isra'el* does not include the Egyptian equivalent of *asot* needed for the reading *yer*.² Koehler-Baumgartner-Stamm (1990: 387). Thus, the reading "Jezreel" must necessarily assume that the determinative for people was a scribal error since it does not fit the designation of Israel as a town or region. Thus the reading "Jezreel" is hardly supportable, both paleologically and within the wider context of the stela.

Most scholars agree that the *Isra'el* of Merenptah is in some way related to the Israel of the Hebrew Bible. Kitchen (1966a, 1966b), Lemaire 1973, Sager 1985b, Ahlertz 1987, Lemaire 1988, Sager 1988, Coote 1990, A. Mazur 1990b, Ahlström 1980: 139, 1993, Yurco 1982, 1983, 1990: 149, Bimson 1991, Mariane 1992, Neu-

1992; Rendsburg 1992; Dever 1992a, 1993d, 1995a, 1995b; Hoffmeier 1997, though the archaeological continuity between these two sources has yet to be established. This tracing is based on the context of the term within the text itself (Kitchen 1990a, 1996b; Stager 1980b, Yurco 1986, 1998) as well as on the archaeological evidence of Merenptah's campaign at Gezer (see Chapter Two 180-188), and it is further corroborated by the Amalek inscription, which refers to Merenptah as the "subduer of Gezer" (Youssef 1962). It seems advisable to follow these arguments and the standard translations of the Merenptah Stele that render *ḥbṣw* as Israel (Spiegelberg 1896; Steindorff 1896; Jack 1889; Breasted 1886; Walle 1928; Williams 1958; Wilson 1900b; M. Lichtheim 1976; Farah 1978; Finkel 1979; Stein 1982; Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; Kaplony-Heckel 1985; Hoffmeier 1997).

Nature of Israel: The Determinative Much discussion has centered on the determinative associated with Israel. This determinative for *ḥbṣw* consists of a "throw stick" sign for something foreign, with a "seated man and woman" sign for a group of people (both male and female) above "three strokes" (indicating a plural).¹ Some have argued that the determinative used here is a scribal error due to the carelessness of Egyptian scribes (Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Margalit 1990; Ahlström 1991; P. R. Davies 1992). However, the careful study of determinative usage in the context of XIXth Dynasty military documents demonstrates that the Egyptian scribes were highly systematic and consistent in their usage of determinatives. Moreover, in the immediate context of this find spot in the Merenptah Stele every other toponym is accompanied by the determinative for city/state/land/region consisting of a "throw stick +

Rendsburg 1992) has recently argued that this term Israel should be understood as slaves within Egypt during the time of Merenptah. He suggests that the determinative (a throw stick, Israel and term) is entirely like the "Sea Peoples" within a land (1992: 319). Merenptah's Israel, therefore, was not a foreign land, according to Rendsburg. The argument follows that Israel was also non-semitic. The seated man and seated woman of the determinative portrays the entire nation, we argue, and by extension, children included, is non-semitic (1992: 318). According to Rendsburg this best fits the slavery period. However, Rendsburg does not account for or question the "throw stick" sign that clearly indicates, in the determinative, that this is the very element that marks Israel as foreign to Egypt. The seated man and woman merely indicates the totality of a nation, the entity. The same determinative is used for the "Sea Peoples," several Libyan groups and other entities within and outside of Egypt (Zibehius 1972). There is no evidence that this in any way could represent a group of slaves in Egypt. Instead, the structure of the hymnic-poetic unit places the entire Israel within the territory of Canaan (*ḥbṣw*).

hill-country" (Gardiner 1957: 488). This matches the geographical and political reality of these entities as known from other texts and archaeological sources. Israel has its own determinative known from elsewhere in Egyptian literature. This difference indicates that Israel is set apart by the scribe as unique and distinct. It would be precarious methodologically to dismiss this contrast. Very often such contrasts are uniquely important, making their own significant points. To suppose that this determinative may be an error avoids the overall consistency of the use of determinatives in the entire text. Raney (1991: 10). The overall consistency in the usage of determinatives with this one exception argues for the original intention of meaning for the respective determinatives.

Nature of Israel. The Karnak Reliefs. After the recent reappraisal of a series of reliefs on wall of the "Cour de la cachette" at Karnak Y. (no. 1830, 1940) believes he has found the first pastoral

Some scholars have suggested that the determinative of Israel is further evidence that the Israel of the Merneptah Stela was a tribal entity (e.g., an amphictyony; Stager 1985a; Lemche 1988; note 49; A. Mazar 1990; Yon 1990; Bunson 1991), or a nomadic pastoral group (Finkelstein 1988; Bunson 1991; T. L. Thompson 1992). This view finds its origin with Ah. (1957d) and especially Noth (1960), who suggested that Merneptah's Israel could be related to the twelve tribes in some way (cf. Heike 1985: 189-190). Others have taken the opposite view (Abraham 1991: 32), maintaining that the Egyptian text does not give any clue about the social structure of the people of Israel.¹ While the Merneptah stela does not give any indication of the actual social structure of the people of Israel, it does indicate that Israel was a significant northern entity that needed to be reckoned with. Certainly Israel was no less significant than Amalek and Gog, two of the more important enemies in Palestine at the time. However, the idea that the entity Israel mentioned in the inscription refers to any sort of amphictyony is an inference from hypotheses developed from elsewhere, particularly Greek amphictyonic patterns as applied to ancient Israel (cf. Orensky 1980; Haggis 1980; Rogerson 1984). This borrowed Greek model has come under severe criticism (Green 1979; Gotwald 1979; Lemche 1985) although others continue to support it to some extent (Weisman 1992). While Israel may have been a tribal entity, no confirmation is provided for it in the Merneptah Stela. (1. Abraham 1991: 35; Greenberg 1993: 87). The Merneptah Stela remains silent on this point.

Some have maintained that the name Israel refers to a nomadic group (Lemche 1985; Finkelstein 1988; Bunson 1991; T. L. Thompson 1992; Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994; but see Dever 1997a). However, simply because Israel is not identified as a city-state does not indicate that it is semi-nomadic or pastoral. Israel may just as well have been a people living in numerous villages (see Stager 1985a; Dever 1997b). The second phrase, "its grain is not," as associated with Israel may be an indication that it was not a nomadic group but a sedentary agricultural entity. It has been proposed that Merneptah's Israel refers to people already living in the hill-country and occupying sites at that time (Dever 1992: 10-11). Further investigation of the ethnic assemblages from various "Israelite" sites must be conducted to see whether they can truly be traced back to the Late Bronze Age.

representation of Israel. In a poorly preserved battle scene people are shown being trampled on the ground and fleeing before the chariot of Merenptah (Scene 4, Yurco 1990: 32). There is also a depiction of a chariot belonging to the enemy below the feet of the king's horses. The individuals in this relief are depicted in Canaanite clothing, in contrast to the other scenes where they are depicted in traditional dress (Scenes 5 and 7, Yurco 1990: 3). The identification of Scene 4 with Israel has been accepted by a number of scholars (Stager 1985; Kitchen 1982: 213–15, 1993b: 304) and rejected by others (Sou rouzian 1989: 150; Redford 1986a; Ramey 1991; 1992).

Ramey (1991, 1992) proposes that Israel is depicted as *Yer* and identifies it with Scene 5. This is based on his correlation of Scene 4 with Canaan mentioned in the stela. He furthermore raises objections to Yurco's explanation of the chariot by maintaining that chariots were not used by ethnic groups with the people determinative (Ramey 1991: 39). But the identification of Scene 4 with the Canaan in the Merenptah Stela is problematic and must be addressed in more detail.

1. Since the identification of these scenes is linked so closely to the Merenptah Stela, it is assumed that the order of toponyms mentioned is the same in both the reliefs and the stela (Stager 1985; Yurco 1986; 1990; 1991; Ramey 1991; 1992, 1995; Kitchen 1993; H. Ilmeyer 1997). Since descriptions have not been preserved on the "Cour de la sculpture" with the exception of Ashkelon, identifications must proceed from the Merenptah Stela.

2. The new proposed structure of the final Lyrnic-poetic unit of the Merenptah Stela, supported by Ramey (1992: 27) and Yurco (1990), makes a reference to the *Nile* (B), several larger land (C), nations, and then moves to the *defeated Canaan/Hitt* (D, see Appendix). It is important to observe again that the Merenptah Stela is primarily concerned with the campaign against Libya. The final Lyrnic-poetic unit provides a conclusion to this victory Lyrnic. In passing, *Tehen* (Libya) is mentioned once again, and *Hatti* is said to be at peace (B). Then comes the geographical region *Canaan/Hitt* with its city-state and socioethnic entities. This is the longest section and indeed the focus of this smaller unit. The action taken against the four toponyms (D) is the primary account of the military action. It describes the details of the battle in *Canaan/Hitt*. From the information on the stela one would therefore not expect any battle depiction provided for Canaan other than those described for the three

city-states of Ashkelon, Gezer and Yeno'an and the socioethnic entity Israel.

3 If the couplet *Canaan/Hm* refers to actions taken against the city-states and socioethnic entities, and more specifically to the plunder (*hkt*) that Canaan suffered at the hands of the Egyptians, it is possible to conclude that this plunder consisted of spoils and booty as well as prisoners. But Scene 4 is not a scene depicting prisoners. Instead, a battle is taking place out in the open. The battle action on the Merneptah Stele concerns the city-states and Israel. Since there are three other cities under attack already depicted (Scenes -3, Scene 4 must be identified as Israel, reflective of the words, 'Israel is laid waste.' Here a socioethnic group is being confronted and not a city-state.

4 Scenes 5-8 that follow are no longer concerned with the actual battle but with the plunder captured, i.e. prisoners and captives. Here both Canaanites (Scenes 6 and 8) and *Sst* (Scenes 5-8) are depicted as being carried away to Egypt. In these scenes there is no battle taking place. Scene 10, now lost, presumably portrays the presentation of these prisoners to Amun or the Theban triad, a pattern known from the depictions of Set I on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (cf. Staubli 1991: 59).

If these observations are correct then Scene 4 must represent the Israel of the Merneptah Stele. This is significant for it would provide the only pictorial representation of Israel known. The information contained in this damaged relief is important for several reasons. First, it depicts the Israelites out in the open terrain not having the protection of a city-state system. Second notwithstanding the criticism raised by Raney, it portrays Israel in Canaanite clothing. Both of these elements help to determine the nature of Israel during the late thirteenth century B.C.

Nature of Israel. The Term *pr* The phrase 'its seed is not' deserves attention since it may throw further light on the meaning of Israel. The term *pr* "seed," was investigated in Chapter Two within the wider context of XIXth and XXth Dynasty military documents.

The Egyptian Yaron that this is evidence of Israel's emergence out of Canaanite society is reading something into the iconography that is not necessarily implied. In fact the Merneptah Stele makes a clear distinction between Israel and the Canaanite city-states by its determinative. It is possible that Israel may have adapted itself to equate local dress over a period of time as it seems to have done with the material culture on the continuity of the material culture during the transition (see Wood 1985; Kempinski 1985; Negbi 1990; Dever 1993b; 1995b).

In this chapter it was established that *pr* in this case can be interpreted as "grain." This translation may be supported by the concluding lines previous to the hymnic-poetic unit under discussion where the phrase appears, "He who plows his harvest will eat it" (Wilson 1969a: 378). This phrase is in the contextual setting of a long description of the land at peace. This implies that in war times the conqueror would not allow him who plows to eat the harvest to eat his "grain," because the conquerors would have destroyed it or confiscated it for their own use.

It was shown that the determinative for the entities Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yeno'am are identical. This is the determinative for city-state or *lau*. However, the determinative for Israel is that for a "people," indicating that it is not a city-state. This implies that Israel is a sociopolitical entity with a sociopolitical structure distinguished from that of city-states and other entities mentioned in this unit. In the case of the sociopolitical entity Israel there is no prior city-state to be destroyed. It does not exist because Israel is a non-city-state entity. The phrase "its grain is not" appears to communicate the destruction and/or removal of this entity's life-support system, its security mechanism for an entity based without a city-state support system.

The phrase "its grain is not" may further aid us in determining the nature of the entity Israel. The term *pr* "grain" may imply in this context, as compared to the three city-states mentioned before, that Israel is some type of agricultural society. An agriculturally based subsistence system suggests that Israel may be designated in this stela as a sedentary type of people without possessing city-states at the time of Merenptah's campaign in the late thirteenth century B.C. The city-states known from the Late Bronze period, though in decline, had complex support systems. The people designated as Israel to the contrary may have lived in rural villages and settlements. Its subsistence was primarily agricultural and possibly contained some forms of animal husbandry, as was customary during that time (Hopkins 1993). This would mean that the Israel of the Merenptah Stela is not a pastoral nomadic population or group. The latter would not have an essentially agriculturally based form of "grain" subsistence. Thus, we may perceive Israel within the context and information of the Merenptah Stela to be a rural sedentary group of agriculturalists without its own urban city-state support system. If Israel is a rural,

For other uses of the term *pr* as "grain," see Brunck 1994.

and sedentary socioethnic entity at the time of Merenptah, one might expect to locate evidence for its existence in archaeological contexts within a specific location.

The Location of Israel The location of Israel as represented in the Merenptah Stela is deduced in a number of ways. Most scholars place Merenptah's Israel somewhere in the hill country. Beckerath (191: 67; Yaron 1971: 2; Vaux 1978: 193; Ahlstrom and Erdman 1985: 193; Ahlstrom 1986: 199; 1993: 193; Leontche 1983: 1988, 1992; Yaron 1986: 1990; Dever 1992: 1965b). This conclusion is reached from the apparent order of the toponyms mentioned which are said to occur from south to north. Branson (199: 20; Others: Branson 1994) have interpreted the Israel of Merenptah as nomadic before its settlement in the hill country while some see Israel in Egypt. Rendall (1992: 118; Nishi 1989). The location of Israel is a crucial matter to determine before an investigation of the archaeological data.

It has already been established that Israel was located within Canaan according to the structure of the final Syria-Lebanon text (Hasel 1994: 48; Fig. 1: 50-51; see Appendix K; de Vaux suggested that the four toponyms in Canaan could be coupled into two pairs, Ashkelon-Gaza representing the southern cities and Yenoam-Israel representing the north. He pointed out that Israel was at the north or at the center. One can concur with de Vaux that geography plays an important role here, but it would be better to see these entities as separate locations, especially since the location of Yenoam remains uncertain. This is especially true when one notices the literary pattern from geographical entities most distant from Egypt (Tehenu-Hatti) to its most immediate northern neighbor (Canaan/Hmu), the other entities being toponyms within the latter geographical region occupied by Egypt.

Ahlstrom and Erdman (1985: 193; Ahlstrom 1986: 199; 1993) place the territory of Israel in the central hill country based on its supposed chiasmic correspondence with Canaan when they position along the coastal plain. But this chiasmic scheme is not without problems. Lintner (1988; Hasel 1994: 47; cf. see Appendix Yaron 1986: 1990) also locates Israel in the hill country, which he believes is depicted in the reliefs. He maintains that the forces of Merenptah

They seem to follow J. von Beckerath (1994) in this suggestion. Von Beckerath although denying the historicity of the campaign believed that Ashkelon, Gaza, and Yenoam represented the coastal plain (again) and that Israel was located in the hill country which he associated with the *Hip/bw* (cf. Hecker 1985: 199).

pushed north and after defeating Yeno am turned back and made their way through the hill country, where they encountered Israel. While any one of these hypotheses is possible they are based on information not directly associated with the Merenptah Stela. The structure of the stela provides at the most a location within Canaan/*Hana*. Without the certain identification of Yeno am the location of Israel cannot be pinpointed with any accuracy. Despite this ambiguity archaeologists continue to propose more specific locations for Israel within this region using the Merenptah stela as a major source for their conclusions.

Archaeological Data

Recent archaeological surveys and excavations point to a sudden population increase in the central hill country at the beginning of the Iron Age. The demographic expansion is evident in the number of smaller settlements that began to appear. In this section the survey and excavation results, chronology and the evidence for ethnic identification in the degree of continuity and discontinuity present in the architecture and material culture will be discussed in relationship to Merenptah's Israel.

Survey and Excavation Results

The extensive surveys conducted by Israeli archaeologists over the past two decades have dramatically changed the picture of the Early Iron Age horizon in the central hill country. In 1988 Finkelstein published the most complete survey in his time, *The Archaeology of the Iron Age Settlement*. This volume provided a new synthesis of survey and excavation results. Finkelstein (1988: 332-333) documented a significant increase of 51% settled sites during the entire Iron Age. This figure can be supplemented by the new reports published since then for the Lower Galilee (Gal 1992: 186), the Judean hill country (Ofer 1993, 1994), Land of Ephraim Survey (Finkelstein 1988b, c), and further syntheses (Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994, Finkelstein 1997a). The results of these surveys demonstrate an influx of occupation in the central hill country with settlers advancing the technological means necessary for such occupation including terracing, the building of cisterns, and other important aspects needed to develop small agricultural communities of Stager 1985a, Hopkins 1985:

1993; Borowski 1987; Dever 1992c). Excavated sites such as Shiloh, Saratum V (dated to 1100 B.C.; Finkelstein *et al.* 1993: 9), Giloh, A. Mazar 198, Mt. Ebal, Zertal 1986-87, Khirbet ed-Dawara (Finkelstein 1990), Izbet Sartah (Finkelstein 1986), Tell Masos (Fritz and Kempinski 1983) and other sites (cf. Finkelstein 1988; Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994; Finkelstein 1995a) add to the corpus of stratigraphically excavated Early Iron Age sites in the southern Levant.

Chronology

The precise chronology of the settlement is a difficult problem (Finkelstein 1988: 325-327). Until the 1970s many scholars, both archaeologists and historians, assigned this settlement to the mid-to-late thirteenth century B.C. due to its association with the settlement of the Israelites (Kee 1968: XIV; Callaway 1976: 1; Cooley 1975: 7; Kempinski *et al.* 1981; Yadin 1978). The factors that contributed to this interpretation were twofold. First, Mycenaean IIIB pottery together with local Late Bronze pottery found in the destruction of these sites required a date of the late thirteenth century B.C. Second, the mention of Israel on the Merneptah Stela suggests a settlement prior to 1200 B.C. (here 1210). But Finkelstein (1988: 316) points out that once these traditional considerations are laid aside there is nothing in the archaeological contexts themselves to warrant either a date of 1200 or 1175 B.C. The entire range is possible. Finkelstein, based on his excavations at Izbet Sartah, adopts a fine-tuned chronology which he believes allows him to date the beginning of Phase III to the end of the thirteenth century B.C. But other sites are generally dated later (Shiloh, Giloh, Khirbet ed-Dawara).

Two recent discoveries allow more flexibility to the dating of Mycenaean IIIB pottery. The excavations of the destruction at Deir Alla produced Mycenaean IIIB pottery found together with a scarab of Pharaoh Tewosret. Together this *in situ* evidence allows one to date the destruction to the beginning of the twelfth century B.C.⁶ Arguments for earlier dates have also been proposed for sites like Aphiex (Beck and Kochavi 1985) and Izbet Sartah (Finkelstein 1986: 201-208; 1988). These are based on a cuneiform tablet from Ugarit

⁶ Some of these Mycenaean IIIB wares may have been heirlooms due to their discovery in the house temples at Lachish (Harkay and Harkay 1981: 105-106; 1985: 220). The other context at Deir Alla remains less certain (T. Dothan 1987a: 218).

found in the destruction of Stratum X12 (Owen 1981, Owen *et al.* 1987) and dated by the personal names found on the inscription (Singer 1983). This tablet is accompanied by Mycenaean IIB pottery and a scarab of Ramses II. However, as Finkelstein (1988: 316) points out correctly, this only provides a *terminus post quem* for the destruction, since the tablet and scarab may have been present at Aphek for a longer period of time.

At present it is not possible to date the period of the settlement of the hill country precisely on the basis of archaeological contexts alone. A range of 1200-1100 is possible for the founding of these sites, with most established late in that range, on the low chronology of Philistine settlement and as distinct on the monarchy, see Finkelstein (1993b). Many scholars have assumed that the contemporary tablets at Aphek, the mention of Israel on the Merneptah Stele, and other sources point to an earlier date of the settlement of the hill-country (fourteenth century BC). This evidence is firmly dated and describes the activity in this region. However, whether one is able to equate the socioethnic entity Israel of the Merneptah Stele with the material culture and technological innovations associated with settlements in the central hill country remains an open question that must be addressed.

Ethnicity and Archaeology

One of the key issues in connecting the increase in settlements with the Israel of the Merneptah Stele is the issue of ethnicity. This issue has been largely taken for granted due to the correlation between the biblical texts and archaeological data. Even more recent studies have largely neglected the issues of Israelite ethnicity in the archaeological record (e.g. Singer 1983a; Finkelstein 1988; London 1988). Nevertheless, numerous scholars have drawn attention to this problem (Esse 1991; Skjærgaard 1992; Dever 1995b; Edelman 1996; Finkelstein 1997). This renewed interest has resulted in a major debate between those who would infer ethnic indicators on the archaeological record (Chavez 1988; Esse 1991, 1992; Dever 1995; Finkelstein 1988) and those who view with pessimism any such correlation (Skjærgaard 1992; Sharon 1994; Edelman 1996).

Several questions remain central to the discussion. First, is it possible to identify certain traits and developments archaeologically that are associated with these settlements and attribute them to a change

in ethnicity or to a new ethnic group? What developments are present that may determine ethnicity? Second, what evidence is there for continuity or discontinuity in the material culture, specifically in the ceramic sequence? These questions will be addressed in the following sections.

Continuity vs. Discontinuity The ceramic and architectural evidence has been the subject in recent studies as an argument for both continuity and discontinuity in comparison with earlier Late Bronze traditions. Dever (1990, 1992a, 1993b, 1995b) suggests that the ceramic and architectural evidence is largely indicative of cultural continuity. This continuity is found in store jars, cooking pots, kraters, bowls and even jugslets, chalices, and lamps as well as the four-roomed house. Dever (1992a: 112; Finkelstein 1988, 1992b, 1996a), on the other hand, insists that there is a much sharper break in the ceramic sequences and in the architecture. He views the hill country pottery as "poor and limited, compared to the rich, decorated and varied assemblages of the Late Bronze Age" (1992b: 65). He proposes that this marks the sedentarization of the nomadic elements that later become Israel (cf. Finkelstein 1995c; 1996a).

The collared-rim store jar has become one of the ceramic indicators that was viewed as a "type fossil" of Israelite ethnicity. The amount of research that this form earned began in 1978. A. Mazar (1981; Finkelstein, 1988, 1996a; London 1983; Esse 1990, 1992, 1997) illustrates the age-old question of repeating "pots and people." Kramer (1977) while additional suggestions have been proposed concerning the function of the jars as storage containers for water (Zertal 1980: 107; olive oil and wine; Finkelstein 1988: 287; or grain; A. Mazar 1981: 30).

Excavations during the 1950-60s at Bethel (Allbright and Kelso 1968: 63; Shmida Ben-David and Helin Nielsen 1969: 41-44; Gilead, Succar 1960: 16-18; N. Lapp 1981: 79; Beth Zur, Frank 1968: 44-46; Klurbet et-Tell (Callaway 1970: 8-9); Samaria, Crowfoot *et al.* 1957, fig. 110; Megiddo, Esse 1990: 1992) and new projects at Shechem (Toon 1977: 76; Gilead, Pritchard 1964: 3) and Kuldana (Callaway and Cholevy 1971) all produced an abundance of collared-rim store jars. Esse (1992: 83-86) thus suggested that these store jars were related directly to the period of the Israelite settlement. The absence of collared-rim store jars in lowland sites seemed to confirm the pattern of settlement in the hill country, although some were found at Ta'anach (Rast 1978: 9-10) and at Qasile (A. Mazar 1985a: 57).

During the 1970s-80s the picture began to change as an increased amount of excavations and surveys were conducted, thus illuminating the distribution and stratigraphic contexts of the collared-rim store jar. New excavations at Shuoh (Finkelstein 1988, 1993), Gihon A Mazar (1981: 27-31, 1990a: 77-101), Izbet Sartah (Finkelstein 1986: 77-84, 1988), and Mt. Etai (Zertal 1986-87: 134-136) added to the available database (Esse 1992: 86). However, during this same period archaeological excavations in areas traditionally not associated with Israelites also began to produce collared-rim store jars. A challenge to the concept of the ethnic "type fossil" was raised by M. Ibrahim (1978), who published large quantities of collared-rim store jars from Sahab in Transjordan. Since his publication, excavations at Hesban (Sauer 1986: Fig. 10), Medemah (Olavær 1983: 174-177), Amman (Dornemann 1982: 138), Dhiban (Jashengram 1972: 2), Tell Jafit (Tell Jawa; Younger personal communication), and Tell es-Umein (Herr 1989: 310, 1997: 237) have each brought forth varying quantities of collared-rim store jars. The *phthos* have also subsequently been discovered in the lowland sites during the late thirteenth century B.C.: Aphek (Megade), Tell Kisan (Laatach), Tell Mavarka, and Tell Qasbi (cf. Finkelstein 1988). They were found in burial contexts at Tell Namu (Azy 1990: 76) and Tel Zoror (Olia 1970: Pl. 36) in the coastal plain.

From this evidence, Esse points out "that the geographical distribution of the collared *phthos* is much greater than Albright ever imagined" (1992: 87). He continues by outlining the results of statistical analysis, demonstrating that their occurrence is much more frequent in the central hill country than at the lowland sites (1992: 93-94). Esse suggests that since pottery production is often associated in modern cultures with women, collared-rim store jars were widely distributed through intermarriage. He cites the references in biblical texts which link Canaanite and Israelite intermarriage with apostasy as well as Judg 9:5-6, where further reference is made to intermarriages between Israelites and other ethnic groups (1992: 99, 100). Another solution offered by G. London (1989) distinguishes between urban and rural dichotomies rather than ethnic ones. London suggests that the rural settlements were in need of food-storage facilities that could be transported, while the "economic network of cities and housing facilities could not accommodate large containers" (1989: 44). However, several problems should be addressed before wholeheartedly accepting this view. 1. London refers to Izbet Sartah as an

example where a rural settlement might be in need of collared-rim store jars for storage facilities. Yet one of the characteristic features of Izbet Sartah and other early settlement sites is the abundance of silos and grain-storage facilities.² Esse (1992: 95) points out that London 'did not consider the abundance or "wealth" that might be inherent in both highland and lowland sites, stating that a wealth of material culture can be found at both urban sites (Megiddo, Yoque'am and Keisan) and smaller rural sites (Izbet Sartah, Qasile Qri and Qashish). London may be correct that there would be some discontinuity between rural and urban sites. This may explain some stylistic and functional differences in the pottery. But it is important not to assume that the urban-rural dichotomy will explain all differences. How can the presence of collared-rim store jars in Transjordan be explained? Is this type associated with Israel does this mean Israel is present there as well? Or is Esse's explanation of intermarriage and diffusion sufficient and all-encompassing? Can the collared-rim store jar still be used as a "type fossil" for Israelite ethnicity? Aharoni (1993: 338-339) did not see this form as an Israelite invention but as coming from the Canaanite tradition. He refers to the Middle Bronze II-III pithoi as being possible antecedents (citing Finkelstein 1988: 283, cf. Dever 1995b: 205). Rose (1992: 78-79) takes a more positive view, pointing out that the collared-rim store jar is typical of the Iron I period and not previous periods.

Most recently Artzy (1994) has made a case for the use of the collared-rim store jar as a container for the incense trade. According to this suggestion, camels and ships were used as transport vehicles to carry the incense and other goods to and from differing parts of Asia and into the eastern Mediterranean. Her argument for camel trading is based on the evidence published by Wapnish (1981: 1-3, 1984) of domesticated camel bones at Tell Jemmeh and the research of others who have argued for the domestication of the camel in the second millennium B.C.³ Artzy points out the wide distribution of the col-

² The discussion on collared-rim store jars by Tranjordan often overlooks the biblical tradition relating to the presence of the half-tribe of Manasse and Reuben, which are said to occupy these areas (Gen. 33:20-31; Saenisch and Harrison 1980: 233-234).

³ Wright (1960: 206-207) maintained that the camel was only sporadically domesticated before the twelfth century B.C. and that the major part of the incense trade was carried out by donkeys—later still by camels. He bases his position on the extensive archaeological evidence that is growing to the contrary: Zeuner 1963; Molant-Reynes and Brauwein-Suvere 1967; Rapinok 1975: 295-298; 1983: 21-27; Barnett 1985: 17-18; Nielsen 1986: 22-23; Zannis 1992. Evidence of camel domestication

lared-rim store jar. At Tell Namu there were those jars that were comparable to the hull country and other Cypriot types (Artzy 1994: 137). She cites similar forms from Mar-Paleokastro in western Cyprus (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pls LXXXII #3 and possibly CCVII #40) and even the Ulu Barim shipwreck (Artzy 1994: 137, 138). Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) was employed on a corpus from Tell Dor, and it was determined that these forms were not made of local clays (Biran 1989). At this point NAA should also be introduced in other assemblages to determine the provenience of the form and its possible association with trade (cf. Biran 1989; Artzy 1994: 137).

While the geographical distribution of the collared-rim store jar is of significance, the chronological context should not be overlooked. This form appeared in the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age transition and continued throughout the Iron Age. The earliest forms appear at Tell Namu (Artzy 1994: 136) personal collections at Be'er Sheva, A-Mazar 1997, and Tell el-Umeiri (Hart 1989; 1992a, 1997b, fourteenth century B.C.). This attests to a wide temporal distribution precluding the Iron Age. It is apparent that both discontinuity and continuity can be found in the material culture that followed the Late Bronze Age (Dever 1992b, 1993b, 1994) as highlighted by the technological developments that accompanied the settlement of the hull country at this time.

Technological Innovations and the Settlement Through the course of research on the emergence of ancient Israel, emphasis has been placed on certain technological innovations that facilitated the settlement of the central hull country (Hopkins 1985: 23). Albright (1971: 113) came to view plaster-lined cisterns as such an innovation while Gottwald (1979: 655) maintained that the introduction of iron provided the material basis for Israelite expansion into the highlands. Still others had thought that terrace construction may have provided the impetus and means for settlement (J. L. Thompson 1970: 61; Stager 1983a: 10; cf. Dever 1984d: 38-39). If this association is

in the second millennium is supported by a camel statuette carrying two-way jars that was dated by Peerie to the Ramesside period (Peerie 1907: 3; cf. Ripinsky 1983: 27; Frey 1944: 86). Other depictions of camels being led by rope and evidently harnessed have been published by Ripinsky (1983). A Syrian slender seal, dated to the eighteenth century B.C., shows two figures riding on the humps of two Baetian camels (Porada 1977: 17). Other pictorial representations have been extensively surveyed by Renó (1997).

important to investigate geographical, functional, and temporal factors.

The use of plaster-lined cisterns was first hailed by Allbright (1971: 113) as making possible the Israelite settlement in the hill country based on the excavations of such cisterns at Khirbet er Tell and Rasalana. At both sites the cisterns were not plaster-lined (Calaway 1993: 41, 1979: 18). Cisterns were also discovered at Shihb (Finkelstein 1988: 99), Izbet Sartah (Demsky and Kuchav 1983: 21), cf. Hopkins (98: 12), and Tell en-Nasbeh (Zorn 1993: 109) while none have been found at other early Iron Age sites including Giloh (A. Mazar 1981: 35) and Tell Masos (Fritz and Kempinski 1983). It is important to note that plaster-lined cisterns were known during the Middle Bronze Age in the northern hill country at sites like Taanach (P. W. Lapp 1967b: 14-15, 34, 1969: 45) and Hazor Stratum VII (Yadin *et al.* 1958: 127-140; cf. Gopalan and Porath 1992: 197) and at sites like Gezer in the Shephelah (Dever 1980: 246). Other plaster-lined cisterns found at Byblos and Abu Matar (Lebanon) as well as Ba'ath (Dura) and Jawa in Jordan may date to the Early Bronze Age (P. W. Lapp 1969: 33 note 53).

The recurrence of this technology during several periods in the history of the southern Levant and in provinces outside the 'traditional' location of early Israel suggests an important functional purpose of this technology. Indeed, plaster-lined cisterns appear to have a water temporal and geographical distribution and are not restricted to the Iron Age and to the hill country of Cisjordan. Allbright's attempt to link the construction of cisterns with the settlement of the central highland and ethically with the Israelites is rather simplistic. First, it has been shown above that this technology was not 'recent,' but that it dates back to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and perhaps as far back as the Early Bronze Age (cf. Finkelstein 1992b: 64). Second, the geographical distribution of cisterns far exceeds the limitations of the central hill country of Cisjordan. Then, what would explain the use of cisterns at early "Israelite" sites? What ways are there to bridge these apparent discrepancies?

From a functional perspective cisterns were a technological development needed for the settlement of any area lacking sufficient natural resources for water (Finkelstein 1992b: 64). Carving out large reservoirs in the soft limestone chalk and sealing them with plaster provided the necessary means to manage water supplies for agricul-

tural and living purposes. There is no reason from a functional perspective to limit this need or the technology it produced to early Israel. Indeed, the wide geographical and temporal range for the use of cisterns demonstrates that both previous and contemporary ethnic and cultural groups utilized the same technology for their own expansion and settlement (LaBianca 1990: 148-149). Cisterns were part of the agricultural technology needed for the environment and continue to be used today. To associate this technology solely with a specific ethnic group is not appropriate in light of the current data available. Nevertheless, it is evident that the settlers of the central hill country did not utilize this technology, which may have facilitated their rapid expansion during the early Iron Age.

As with the technology of plaster-lined cisterns, terracing has also been traditionally viewed as the unique contribution of Israelite settlers in the central hill country (J. L. Thompson 1976: 60; Gottwald 1979: 658-659; Stager 1980a: 1; Borowski 1987: 17; Arikson 1982 even claimed that the new settlers brought this skill with them, concluding that the settlers came from an agricultural background rather than a nomadic one). Since the earliest date for terracing remains debated, the relationship to Israelite settlement may need to be reconsidered. The chronological problems result from the lack of direct association with occupational remains. Furthermore, there is no specific technique of masonry art preserved for a given period, making a typological sequence difficult (Gott 1971: 68-69). Here a careful review of present data during the settlement period may give further indications for consideration.

Recent survey work conducted throughout the hill country and the Negev provides a new perspective for patterns of settlement over extended periods of time (Zertal 1988; Finkelstein 1988, 1988-89; Gal 1992; Finkelstein and Gophna 1993). Finkelstein proposes that the results of archaeological survey work contradict the position that the construction of terraces facilitated the settlement of the hill country (Finkelstein 1988: 202, 309; 1992a: 64-65). He maintains that 1

Finkelstein and Kasliw (1981) argue for an early Iron I date for the beginning of terracing in Mevaseret Yerushalayim. Other archaeological investigations have determined that limited agricultural terracing took place in the Late Bronze Age around Jerusalem (Hakir 1986: 198; Ron 1990: 111). Gott (1971: 68-69) and Borowski (1987: 15), Hopkins, on the other hand, suggests a later date based on the hypothesis that the construction of terraces was not the "technological innovation which permitted that settlement... [rather] a response to exigencies encountered as the duration of their settlement progressed" (1988: 8).

since extensive settlement took place during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (Finkelstein and Gophna 1993), terracing would have been required during that time since the western slopes could not have been occupied otherwise (Finkelstein 1988: 202) and (2) the settlement began in those fringe areas of the hill country where "cultivation was possible without building terraces." Izbit Sartah is an example of such a site (Finkelstein 1988: 202). There is some indication that terracing was taking place earlier in the Jerusalem area. Stager (1982:

1) has published on terracing in the Katron Valley, dating it to the fourteenth century B.C. There are further reports of terracing during the Early Bronze Age in the Judean Hills (Gibson *et al.* 1981). But the dating of terrace walls is fraught with difficulties. Conclusive dating depends on stratigraphic excavation (Geus 1975: 68-69). Although the terrace wall in Site G at Khirbet et-Tell has been dated stratigraphically to the Iron I period, other excavations at Giloh, Shikh, Tel es-Nasbeh have not produced similar results. Settlement archaeology cannot solve the chronological dilemma due to the lack of stratigraphic excavation. Probable dates can only be given on the basis of surface collection, which often represents a multi-period spectrum. While settlement archaeology can push the possibilities back in time by inferring general occupational patterns, Finkelstein's claim that terraces "must have been built during the Middle Bronze period, if not earlier" (1988: 212) rests on probability rather than excavated results. A second problem is geographical. If there is evidence of terracing in other areas does this also then represent an ethnic tie to Israelite occupation or does this indicate the diffusion of technology to other areas? Here reference must revert to chronology and the future establishment of a chronological sequence. Once again the functional nature of terracing must be considered. Is terracing the result of a specific technology brought to the hill country by an ethnic group or is it born out of necessity due to the circumstances of cultivation present in the hill country that required this technology for effective agriculture? Certainly both possibilities are viable, but at the present time it is with difficulty that we can identify terracing with a specific ethnic group.

A third technology often associated with the settlement of the hill country is the appearance of grain-storage facilities. These can be separated into three categories: (1) Grain-pits that are subterranean facilities usually in close proximity to dwelling areas where the preparation of food took place. These are usually small, stone-lined or

plastered pits used for the storing of grain in bulk (Borowski 1987: 72-73).² Silos are larger underground installations and are also often stone-lined or plastered where grains were stored. Most often these larger silos are located near public buildings or areas. Borowski (1987: 74) suggests that they were not owned by individuals but by a large social organization, such as a state. He cites examples at Megiddo and Hazor where this form of usage may have been implemented; (3) The cellar, a subterranean room that was used for the storage of foodstuffs in containers, is not well attested in archaeological excavations (Borowski 1987: 75). Here the relationship between cellar and building, coupled with lack of proper excavation, causes problems in establishing an absolute date.

Silos have been found extensively at hill-country sites like Aphek Stratum 8 (Kochavi 1984: 84), Beersheba Stratum IX (Herzog 1994: 10-11, 70-71), Dor Stratum IV (Baron 1980: 74), Tell el-Fel Napp (1980: 300), Shikhi (Finkelstein 1988: 226) and Tell Zeror (Obata 1980: 24). But they are not limited to sites in the hill-country. Some sites traditionally associated with the Philistines have produced significant numbers of silos, including Tell Miqat-Earon, where numerous stone-lined, plastered, and mudbrick-lined silos were found at Fields I, III, and IV, dating to the Philistine occupation in the eleventh-tenth centuries B.C. (Strata V and IV) and Ashdod Stratum X (Dechan and Porath 1993: 2). Again a functional explanation for these installations is most probable. Cereals needed to be stored in well-protected ways to keep rodents and other types of animals from encroaching on subsistence sources. Silos provided this protection due to stone, mudbrick, or plaster lining. While these storage facilities do play a major role in the settlement of the hill-country sites in earlier periods and sites traditionally associated with other ethnic groups, Philistines also show that they are a major feature.

From this brief overview of geographical distribution, temporal and functional factors it is evident that each of these "new" technologies was present during various periods and in a much wider geographical area than previously known. As Sharon (1994: 127) observes, "the technologies attributed to the Israelite culture were not novel." Indeed, these technologies served a particular subsistence function in an agricultural setting that was regarded essential by many ethnic groups living in the southern Levant.

It has recently been suggested that the convergence of all of these technologies at one time and generally in one area may in itself be

significant (Dever 1992d: 38-42). One must concur with Dever that "the individual innovations in themselves cannot define 'Israelite ethnicity'" (Dever 1992b: 112). In fact, only a handful of early Iron Age hill country sites have been stratigraphically excavated and the question must be raised whether these technologies could represent any given agricultural ethnic group entering the hill country, since each one is necessary for a successful settlement. Nevertheless, certainly one specific ethnic group *could* be using these technologies. But what in the technologies themselves would actually make the ethnic identification possible? In short, very little. As Kamp and Yoffee indicate:

Because ethnic identity rests on the conscious awareness of group members, it is possible that even when major socioethnic distinctions are at stake, ethnic identity may occur if people may live in the same environment and face the same problems of subsistence yet their values and attitudes may reflect quite different ethnic traditions (Kamp and Yoffee 1980: 88).

This establishes ethnicity as signified by self-recognition, and not necessarily by material culture (cf. Jones 1997). In the end, it is only in association with the textual sources (Merenptah Stela and specifically the Hebrew Bible) that the group settling at this time in the central hill country may be identified ethnically with Israel.¹⁰ While the Merenptah Stela certainly leaves open the possibility that Israel is located in the hill country, the final hymnic-poetic unit does not independently provide a specific location other than that somewhere Israel is located within Canaan/*Hm*. The identification of Merenptah's Israel with these new settlements and related technology traits or concepts from the Hebrew Bible again must be studied within the framework of evidence provided there (e.g., Sager 1983a; Miller 1991).

Summary

The mention of an entity Israel in the Merenptah Stela (ca. 1207) is central in the reconstruction of the early history of Israel. It provides the earliest extrabiblical mention of a people called Israel. The past two decades have witnessed major changes in the reconstruction

Other ethnic groups such as the Hittites, Jemites, Kefties, and Guburites are also mentioned in biblical sources as living in the hill country (cf. Finkelstein 1988: 18; Miller 1991: 3; Skeneveld 1992: 15). As has often been stated (Dever 1992b: 134; 1993: 53-59; 1995b: 208-209), it was not for the mention of Israel in the Merenptah Stela that historians and archaeologists would have a difficulty in providing an ethnic label to the dramatic increase in hill country settlements during the transition.

of early Israel and its ethnogenesis. The enormous repertoire of literature on the subject of Israel's origins is so vast that only a brief overview concerning the treatment of the Merneptah Stela is possible.¹ Some continue to view this Israel as the first evidence of early Israel as a socioethnic entity (Singer 1988; Coote 1990; Hahner 1992; Neu 1992; Rosel 1992; Singer 1994; Dever 1992d, 1992f, 1995b: 209; Hoffmeier 1997: 2). Others make a more-or-less cursory mention of the entity Israel without considering it as vital evidence for the reconstruction of Israelite origins, since it is difficult to link it with monarchic Israel (Lemche 1985, 1988; Na'aman 1994a; Finkelstein 1988, 1990, 1993, 1998a: 210).² A few have provided new interpretations of Merneptah's Israel as a primarily geographical/cultural designation either with Ahlström (1986, 1991, 1993) or without a people named Israel (Ahlström and Edelman 1987; Coote 1985; Edelman 1992). Others barely or completely dismiss the evidence of the Merneptah Stela for any reconstruction of ancient Israel (Coote and Whitlam 1987: 1; L. Thompson 1992: 273-276, 306, 311; Whitlam 1996; cf. Margalith 1990).

In summary, the textual evidence from the Merneptah Stela indicates that the entity Israel was a people living outside the city-state system. The reference to its grain (*grt*) suggest that Merneptah's Israel may have been an agricultural socioethnic entity. Unfortunately, the information contained in the final dynastic poetic text does not provide a specific location for Israel within Canaan/*Hyks*. It is only on the basis of biblical evidence and future fieldwork that such a location may be determined.

Archaeological evidence for the settlement of the hill country during the Early Iron Age indicates the presence of demographic growth

¹ For an overview and critique of recent models developed for the origin of Israel, see Bunson 1989; Giese 1983a, 1983b; Weippert and Weippert 1990; Hess 1993: 194; Dever 1992, 1994. These theories include: (1) military invasion (Ahlström 1985, 1988, 1989, 1991; G. E. Wright 1985, 1987, 1988; Brigg 1992; Aharoni 1979; Malamat 1979; 1982; Yadin 1979; 1982); (2) displaced population (Callaway 1992); (3) peaceful infiltration (W. G. Dever 1980; M. Weippert 1983, 1979; Miller 1977; Aharoni 1976; Fritz 1994; Ramez 1993); (4) peasant revolt (Mendenhall 1962; 1973; 1976; 1978; 1983; Gottwald 1974; 1975, 1976a, 1976b, 1978, 1979; 1985a; 1985b; 1993; for criticism see Lemche 1985: 66-67); (5) nomadic origin (Finkelstein 1988; 1991, 1994a; 1995a; for criticism see Dever 1997a: 16); (6) 'evolutionary' development (Lemche 1985 1988 1992); (7) symbiosis (Fritz 1987; Dever 1997a: 19); (8) peaceful withdrawal (Ahlström 1986, 1991, 1993: 369); (9) Egyptian vassal status followed by autonomy (Coote 1990; and 10) displacement due to climatic catastrophe (Stöckli 1989, 1994).

and previously known technologies that are now intensified at a specific location. These agricultural technologies, however, are located in wide geographical and temporal distributions so that one is not able to say that they individually can be characterized as ethnic indicators. With these points in mind, it may not be coincidence that an agriculturally based socioethnic entity called Israel is mentioned in Egyptian and biblical sources concurrent with an influx of both settlement and other material culture correlates indicating agricultural resurgence in the hill country. Until new strategies are employed at hill country sites comparatively testing historically known "Israelite" sites with those of other socioethnic groups we must be satisfied with the limited but significant information available from known historical, toponographic, and archaeological sources.

SHASU (*ššw*)

References to the *ššw* appear throughout textual and toponographic sources throughout the New Kingdom until the XXth Dynasty. Many of these sources provide partial information that may aid in establishing a general geographical location and social structure of its inhabitants. The evidence from the reigns of Seti I, Ramses II, and Merneptah is analyzed from textual and toponographic sources before a possible archaeological context will be evaluated.

Egyptian Sources

Occurrences and Context

The term *ššw* appears as both a people and the territory which they inhabited, probably beginning by the New Kingdom during the reign of Thutmose II (Givón 1971: 9-10; cf. Ward 1992c: 176) or perhaps earlier (Ward 1977: 36-37, Görg 1976b). The majority of references are contained in military documents.

Seti I. The entity *ššw* appears four times on Register I on the wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak dated Year 1 (KV 17: 2.189-194 L11,4; Givón 1969-70; 1971; M. Weippert 1974). These texts are

The origin of the term *ššw* is widely debated. Some postulate that the term *ššw* dates back to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, where the name may appear as *ššw* in the Vth Dynasty funerary complex of Unas at Saqqara (Hick 1968: 477, 491: 17-18) and as a place-name *ššw* in the Execration Texts (Posener 1940: 91).

accompanied by reliefs depicting various actions taken by the Egyptians against *Šst*. It appears three times on toponym lists on the east wall at Karnak: List XIV: 38; *ARI* I:287; Giveon 1971: 61; on the west wall at Karnak: List XIII: 42; *ARI* I:3114; Giveon 1971: 64-65; and at Kanais: List XVII: 2; *ARI* I:3610. The relevant texts are translated:

As for the L[il]a[is] of the rebels, none could get past them, because of the alien enemies of Shasu who had attacked them. His Majesty captured them totally so that none escaped. Kitchen 1993a: 6; *ARI* I:7,1-2.

The destruction which the sturdy arm of Pharaoh, LPH, made among the enemies of Shasu beginning from the fortress of Šst as far as Pa-Canaan, His Majesty seized them like a terrifying lion, turning them to corpses throughout their valleys, wallowing in their blood as if they had never existed. Any who slip through his fingers feel his power to the distant foreign countries—'it is the might of Father Amen who has decreed for you victory and victory over every foreign country' Kitchen 1993a: 7; *ARI* I:8,9-12.

The fallen foemen of Shasu are plotting rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are united in one place, stationed on the ridges of Kharru. They haveapsed into confusion and quarreling, each slays his fellow. They disregard the edicts of the palace. I hear of His Majesty, LPH, was pleased at it. Now, as for the Good god, he rejoices at beginning a fight, he is glad about his attacker, his heart is satisfied at seeing blood. He cuts off the heads of the dissidents. More than a day of jubilation loves he a moment of trampling such down. His Majesty slays them all at once he leaves no hairs among them. Whoever escapes his hand is but a prisoner brought to Nardand. Kitchen 1993a: 7-8; *ARI* I:9,1-8.

The spoils which His Majesty brought back from the in Shasu whom His Majesty banished vanquished in Year Renaissance Kitchen 1993a: 9; *ARI* I:11,4.

Ramses II The entity *Šst* alone appears ten times during the reign of Ramses II. It appears in various copies of the *Buletin*: 2; *ARI* II:103,12-16; and on toponym lists at Karnak: List XXIV: 34; *ARI*

This has led some to suggest an earlier origin for the term *Šst*. Ward (1972: 54) Because of the phonetic difficulties in comparing these terms, Giveon (1971: 249) is cautious concerning these earlier references and believes that the term first appeared during the reign of Thutmose II, although he concludes that it is likely the Hyksos period was the time for the development of the new group. On the appearance of the term *Šst* during the New Kingdom, see the extensive discussion in Giveon (1971).

II 163, 14, Givón 1971: 84-87 and Luxor 2 List XXII 10; *ARI* II 186, 3, Givón 1971: 88-90 Doc. 20a Kitchen 1965: 6, Pl. III *ARI* II 184.9 Givón 1971: 90-92 Doc. 20b. It occurs on a stele fragment at Tarnis. Stela VII/VIII? *ARI* II 298.3, Givón 1971: 108-109, Doc. 30 and Ismaïlia 1 *ARI* II 404.6, Givón 1971: 109-112 Doc. 31 as well as twice in literary texts including Papyrus Tourn B Givón 1971: 121-124 Doc. 3 and Papyrus Anastasi I 6, Givón 1971: 125-131, Doc. 36.

The designation *by Šm* (Shasu-land) appears sixteen times on the topographical list at Amarna West followed by a list of six toponyms *Šr*, *Rn*, *Pp*, *Ḫt*, *Šm* and *Ḫr* all located in the Shasu-land 6 *ARI* II 217.10 Kitchen 1964: 66. The connection of *Šm* with *Šr* or Edom is found in other sources: see 2.4.2. *by Šm* occurs on a topographical list at Memphis 1, *ARI* II 194.15, Givón 1971: 90-93, Doc. 23 in texts from Bubastis 1 *ARI* II 401.7, Givón 1971: 98-99, Doc. 24 Tarnis 6 Givón 1971: 100-108, Docs. 25-29 *ARI* II 298.5 II 298.4 II 300.2 II 409.1, II 403.6, II 408.3 Teller-Ramsey *ARI* II 404.14 Givón 1971: 112-113, Doc. 32 cf. Peirce 1965: Pl. XXXIII XXXII, Geze Shafel Stela II *ARI* II 404.3 Givón 1971: 116-118 Doc. 33, and Gysna 1; *ARI* II 406.6; Givón 1971: 118-120, Doc. 34.

Merenptah. The term *Šm* only occurs once in the military documents of Merenptah. This inscription accompanies a relief among the scenes on the 'Cour de la sâlette' in Karnak Scene 8, Yurco 1986: 195, Fig. 9; Givón 1971: 93). Here a fragmented text occurs above a group of *Šm*-prisoners, stating 'consisting of the Shasu plundered *by* his majesty'. This text, formerly attributed to Ramses II, is most likely dated to the time of Merenptah. The term also appears in a schoolboy's exercise, Papyrus Anastasi VI.

We have further, allowing the Shasu clansfolk of Edom to pass the fort of Merenptah that is in Succoth. [Lick] to the pools [992] of Pt-Atum of Merenptah that is in Succoth, to keep them alive and to keep alive their livestock by the word of Pharaoh. 13PH the good *Šm* of Egypt along with the names from the other days on which the fort of Merenptah that is in Succoth was passed [by such people]. Gardiner 1937: 75-7, Kitchen 1992b: 27.

Iconographic Sources. In addition to these numerous textual occurrences the inhabitants of *Šm* are also depicted frequently 1.

¹ This list is most likely a copy of the list of Amenhotep III at Soleb: see Edel 1966; S. Herrmann 1967; Givón 1964; Kitchen 1992b: 25.

reliefs of the XIXth Dynasty. Although these representations contain further information on the nature of the *šsw*, few can be identified directly by accompanying texts (Givón 1971, Pls. I-XIX).

Identification

Recent studies differ concerning the identification of the enigmatic designation *šsw*. Several issues are involved in the recent discussion:

1. The etymology of the term has been placed within an Egyptian (Allbright 1943: 32 note 27; Lamblich 1963: 15; Ward 1972: 46-51; 1992c; Semitic (W. M. Mulier 1893: 131; Givón 1971: 261-264; M. Weippert 1974: 433) or Indo-Aryan context (Lorton 1971-72: 150 note 2). 2. The term *šsw* was understood by the Egyptians as either a socioethnic (Givón 1967; 1971), geographical (Lorton 1971-72), or socio-cultural designation (Ward 1972: 50-56; 1992c). 3. The onomographic evidence is viewed as making major contributions to the identification of *šsw* in Egyptian texts (Givón 1967; 1969-70; 1971; Staubli 1991) or less precise identifications (Ward 1972: 46-47; 1992c: 1166). Each of these issues is crucial for understanding the military threat posed to the Egyptians by the entity *šsw* during the XIXth Dynasty.

Nature of *šsw*: Etymology The etymology of the term is uncertain. It has been suggested that it may either be related to the Egyptian verb *šw* 'to travel, to wander about' (Allbright 1943: 32 note 27; Lamblich 1963: 15; Ward 1972: 46-51; 1992c) or to the Semitic *šawāḥ, šawā* 'to plunder, to pilage' (W. M. Mulier 1893: 131; Givón 1971: 261-264; M. Weippert 1974: 433). The etymology to some extent influences the meaning of the term as it is used by the Egyptians. This has led some to describe the *šsw* as a nomadic element (Givón 1971) or as an element of unrest and instability for the Egyptians (Ward 1992c). Others suggest that neither of these etymologies can be correct, pointing toward Hittite or Indo-Aryan languages as a place of origin (Lorton 1971-72: 150 note 2). A careful investigation of the semantic contexts of the term *šsw* is necessary in evaluating these proposals.¹⁴

Nature of *šsw*: The Determinatives and Semantic Context In the earliest documents mentioning the term *šsw* it is accompanied by the 'hill-country' determinative. In Givón's Document 1,

¹⁴ The main source for this investigation is the data compiled in Givón's *Les relations Shemu des documents égyptiens* (9).

Ankhose Pen-Nekhbet states, "what I brought from Shasu was very many captives." Document 2 from Thutmose III states, "His Majesty was in the foreign country of *Rmt* on his fourteenth campaign of victory after going to destroy the rebels of *Šsr*." Lorton 1971-72: 148. In both texts *Šsr* is written with the "hill-country" determinative (Gardiner 1957: 442 sign A1) which would denote a geographical territory/land/nation/region/city-state (cf. Lorton 1971-72: 148). This seems to fit the semantic context of the term. The prepositions *hr* "from" and *n* "of" preceding the subject *Šsr* (*hr n Šsr*) may in this instance the writer was referring to a place of origin for the captives or rebels encountered by the Egyptians. In this way both the determinative and the grammar and syntax of the clause are in agreement.

Furthermore, in each of the four cases where the textual reference appears in the reliefs of Set I the *Šsr* are also accompanied with the determinative for "hill-country." In the first three occurrences the text states, *hr n Šsr* "the fallen foes of Shasu" (KRI I 7.2, 1B.9; 1C.4). This means that the fallen foes belong to or come from the region or land of *Šsr*. This is therefore a geographical designation, and not an ethnonym. In the final example the text states, "The spoils which His Majesty brought back from *Šsr*." The "hill-country" determinative seems to indicate that the spoils came from the region or land of *Šsr*. This naturally included the inhabitants/captives that are depicted in the reliefs. It is significant that the scribes consistently use the "hill-country" determinative in these reliefs. So far the Egyptian scribes are consistent in referring to *Šsr* as a geographical region inhabited by the people depicted in the iconography.

During the reign of Ramses II there is less uniformity. However, the contexts in these cases indicate why the determinative was different and allow one to confirm the general consistency of scribal convention in the usage of determinatives. The *Buḥḥ* of the Battle of Kadesh is an excellent example. It relates the deception of Ramses II and his forces by two *Šsr* spies who were allies to the Hittite ruler. "There came two *Šsr* of some of the *Šsr* tribes." Wilson 1927: 279; KRI II 35.2-6; cf. Givón 1974: Doc. 4. Here the term *nḥwt* "troop" is used with the "throw stick" + male and female captive + pl.¹

¹ Kitchen (1993a: 9) translates "The spoils which His Majesty brought back from the *Šsr*." The lack of a definite article or demonstrative *p* (not usually required in Egyptian; see Gardiner 1957: 8) does not necessarily demand a translation. If understood as a geographical designation this might simply refer to the region *Šsr*. The lack of the "people" determinative seems to favor this latter translation.

determinative and the two Šꜣw themselves are determined by a "throw stick + male captive + two strokes." In each of the different versions of the *Buletin* the scribes are consistent in providing the determinative to describe the *in* consisting of both male and female captive signs and the *spies* with single male captive signs. The context of this text is clear. It appears that the spies were male coming from a larger group ("tribe") consisting of both male and female. The reason for the captive sign and not the normal sign for people is that these were the "captive" of Egypt, i.e. Egypt's enemies who fought for the Hittites and betrayed them. The scribe is already making a statement by his choice of the determinative which is consistent in the framework of the report.

On a fragment from Lahun the context is less clear due to the broken nature of the stela. Here Šꜣw spelled Šꜣ without the *in* occurs with the determinative for people; "throw stick + male and female + pl." The incomplete text states " Šꜣ carried off as captives" (Cuvion 1971: 109, Doc. 29). It appears that the term is an etymology in this case indicating that these from a group of people called Šꜣ were taken captive. The text should not be reconstructed as "the fallen foes of Šꜣ " since this would be a geographical term requiring a "hill-country" determinative. Once again the Egyptian scribes are consistent within the semantic context of the fragment.

In the Wadi Tumilat an additional inscription was found that illuminates the flexibility available in the scribal convention further. On a stela found at Tell el-Maskhuta known as the "Stela of Pithecolochus" a transcription contains the names of several defeated ene-

It is interesting to note that only the tribes of the *Šꜣw* are referred to and not their territory. The "hill-country" determinative convention used could it be that these tribes/people came to aid the Hittites in their battle against Egypt in the northern region just as they were engaged in their own territories—the southeast? Perhaps too much has been made of the mention of *Šꜣw* in this context. They may simply have been mercenaries or allies playing a major role in the negative outcome for the Egyptians at Kadesh.

Lorton (1971: 149) suggests that the Tanite scribal school differed in their writing of the term due to the "stereotyped nature of these texts [that] suggests a reflection of past accomplishments rather than historical evolution immediately after the event." If this is true then the scribe in these texts (including Doc. 24-25, 26-28, 30) according to Lorton did not know what the term Šꜣ meant and simply followed convention. However, the variation in the determinatives does not indicate this. In Documents 24-25, 26, 28, and 32 the "hill-country" determinative is consistently employed. The scribes vary in their determinative usage only in Documents 29, 30, and 31. Other reasons than scribal ignorance may be suggested for these apparent inconsistencies.

ties. "You have captured the Haru, Kush, Tehenu, the Šsr and the inhabitants of the islands that are in the middle of the sea thanks to the victories of your arms, the remnant of Egypt" (Givón 1971: 111 Doc. 30). The determinatives that are used in this document consist of a "throw stick + man and woman + hill-country". This is the same determinative appearing with Tehenu. Here the scribe seems to be referring to a geographical confiscation of land first and, as well, implying the domination of the people that inhabit it. Indeed, as Givón points out, the geographical regions mentioned cover all points of the compass: North—the islands of the sea, North-East—*Haru*—Palestine, South—Kush, West—Tehenu and East—*Šsr*. The term *Šsr* can in a dual way also refer to "les habitants de la Palestine de Sud-Est, d'Égypte et de Séir" (Givón 1971: 112). This interpretation would comfortably allow flexibility in the usage of determinatives to cover a broad range of meaning, in this instance one of totality covering all the lands surrounding Egypt as well as their inhabitants.

The geographical nature of *Šsr* is confirmed by the numerous references to *Šsr*—Shasu-land. Obelisk I at Iah mentions the "Terrible and raging bar who despoils Shasu-land, who plunders the mountain of Séir with his valiant arm" (Kitchen 1964: 66). Here the geographical region *U Šsr* is linked with the mountain of Séir. The topographical lists at Amarna West make a further comparison, as the words *U Šsr*, Shasu-land, "precede and are qualified by each one in turn of the six names *Šsr*, *Rbu*, *Pšp*, *Pḥ*, *Šm* and *Hrt*" (Kitchen 1964: 66, ARI II: 11–17). This list was most likely copied from that of Amenhotep III at Soleb (Kitchen 1964b: 20–21 Givón 1964: 8; Herrmann 1967: 146–150). It is important to note that these six occurrences have no determinative. This absence may be explained by the apparently obvious designation of the term, *Šsr*, with the prefix *U*, "land." This designation was so clear that the scribe might not have been required to provide an additional determinative. Furthermore, this is the only instance in which an additional toponym is named in direct connection with *U Šsr*. It is this more specific toponym that the scribe is referring to in the "Shasu-land. In the other *Am* documents mentioning *U Šsr* alone, the term is in every case accompanied with the determinative for "hill-country" except for one fragmented text (Givón 1971: 107, Doc. 29).

During the reign of Merneptah the one reference in military documents to *Šsr* occurs on the reliefs of the "Cour de la Vache" at

Karnak Yurco 1986; 1990; Ranev 1990; 1991; cf. Stager 1983b. Above a relief, Scene 8, presumably showing the *Šsw* being led away, the text states: *n3 n Šswt h/ hm f* "consisting of the Shasu plundered by his majesty" (Yurco 1986: 195; Fig. 9: 207; Givón 147, 93). In this case the "hill-country" determinative is again used as during the reigns of Seti I and Ramses II. Some have used this example to show the inconsistency of the Egyptian scribes, presuming that a people are referred to in this context. This is not necessarily the case. The *n3 n* in this case may either 1) be administrative, 2) carry the force of the definite article (Gardner 1957: 86-87; or, as Lorton 1971: 72-149 has pointed out, 3) *n3 n* can be regarded as the possessive article. The reading could be, "among those (people) of *Šsw* plundered by his majesty" (cf. Karnak 1968: 18). This reading seems preferable and takes into consideration the grammatical and syntactical context as well. The Egyptian scribes may have been speaking of the region of *Šsw* that had been plundered from which the captives came. The reliefs are depicting the result of the plunder: the leading off of captives from that region. In this case the plunder that has befallen *Šsw* results in the taking of captives, a recurring theme in Egyptian military accounts (see Chapter One, 66-69).

Two other texts add more specific information regarding the nature of the inhabitants of this geographical territory. The first, from the reign of Merneptah, is found in Papyrus Anastasi VI, lines 51-61, a soldier's exercise that states: "We have finished with allowing the Shasu clansfolk [*sw*] of Edom to pass the fort of Merneptah that is in Succoth, [*hkt*] → the poor *hkt* of Pi-Atum of Merneptah that is/are in Succoth, to keep them alive and to keep alive their livestock" (Gardner 1937: 76-77; Kitchen 1992b: 27). The reference here to livestock and the apparent migration from Edom to the Egyptian-controlled areas for subsistence points toward a possible pastoral element among the inhabitants of *Šsw*. In this case these inhabitants themselves are called *nhw Šsw*; both terms *nhw* and *Šsw* appearing with the determinative "man + pl." (Givón 147, 132) meaning the translation "Shasu tribesmen." The pastoral elements of these inhabitants are confirmed by Papyrus Harris I, 70-91 from the reign of Ramses III, "I destroyed the Semites, the clans of the Shasu, I pillaged their tents (using the West Semitic term *ahel*), with their people, their livestock likewise without limit." (Kitchen 1992b: 27; Givón 1971: 135; Doc. 38). Again the terms *nhw* and *Šsw* occur with the determinative "man + pl." in identical sequence

and Šr "Se'ir" has the same determinatives. There is therefore a distinct parallelism between the Se'irites and the Shasu tribesmen. This indicates that "Se'ir/Edom was not just a deserted wilderness in the Late Bronze/Iron Age transitional period—there were enough people there to concern Egyptian official interests, and the lifestyle was at least in part pastoral and with tents at least semi-nomadic" (Kitchen 1992b: 27).

In this survey it appears that in most cases the military documents of the XIXth Dynasty refer to the term as a geographical designation. Of thirty-two occurrences, twenty-one either appear with hundred-country determinative or receive the more specific designation *j* "land." In six cases further reference is made to toponyms within "Shasu-land." The determinative of "captive + two strokes" appears, as would be expected, in the description of the two spies that deceive Ramses II at the Battle of Kadesh. One other example uses both the "hundred-country and people" determinatives together, in bearing a dual meaning of totality in describing Egyptian perceptions of their neighbors. Four additional listings of Šr lacking a determinative appear in topographical lists without a historical context, i.e. toponym lists. This indicates the overall consistency of Egyptian scribes in the military documents depicting Šr as a geographical territory. Fewer contexts of the texts provide information regarding the social structure of the inhabitants of Šr , i.e. their apparent pastoral background.

Nature of Šr : The Iconographic Context The identification of inhabitants from the geographical territory of Šr in Egyptian iconography is not a simple task. Few reliefs are known that portray individuals identified as Šr inhabitants by an accompanying *ex* (Ward 1972: 4). One of the few examples is the reliefs of Seti I on the northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Epigraphic Survey 1988: Pl. 2). The lower register to the left of the doorway and extending behind the northeast corner contains the textual and iconographic report of the "Shasu Campaign" in Year 1. In the first scene the inhabitants of Šr are depicted in a fallen mass before the chariot of Seti I. This scene locates them outside the city of Gaza. The third scene depicts these warriors dressed in the same way outside the fortresses along the "Ways of Horus." Both armed warriors with spears and axes and women and children are depicted as either fleeing, bowing in surrender, or being defeated by Egypt. They are being trampled under the hoofs of the king's chariot. They

lie in a great heap before the king, mirroring the accompanying text: "His Majesty seized them like a emptying boat, turning them to corpses throughout their valleys, wadowing in their blood as if they had never existed." In the last scenes they are carried off as bound captives before the king. The texts identify them consistently as the "fallen foes of *Ššw*." Note that this text primarily identifies these rebels as the *hr* "foes" of Egypt and then identifies them with the geographical territory of *Ššw*. No direct connection is made that these people are indigenous to this region. It would appear that they were threatening the fortresses along the Ways of Horus and may just as well have been an invading group from a distant or nearby area. However, it is important that these individuals are identified as the inhabitants of a land called *Ššw* and are depicted in a unique way. They have pointed beards typical of Asiatics, a headband holding back shoulder-length hair, and the tasseled kilt (Ward 1972: 46).

The relief already mentioned on the "Cour de la cachette" at Karnak related to Merenptah shows two lines of bound captives depicted in a similar way being led off before the king (his chapel (Givón, 1971: 93-94; Docs. 21 Pl. VIII). The accompanying inscription states, *hr n Ššw hr hm* "consisting of those (people) of *Ššw* plundered (*hr*) by his majesty" (Yurco 1980: 195, Fig. 9; 207, Givón 1971: 93). Here the depicted captives are specifically designated as those coming from the region of *Ššw*. This group's identification externally and, moreover, another indication of the way proper to this region are depicted. Other rebels from the reign of Ramesses II are not labeled (Givón 1971: Docs. 17-18, 19-20, 21a, 22) and therefore not easily identified. Ward (1972: 47-50) points out that many for-

This relief is said to be a copy of the "Shasu Campaign" of Sen I (Givón 1971: 239). Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 2. If this is so, it might be possible that the scene was not aware of the geographical origin of the captives and referred to them directly as *hr*. Although Givón (1971: 93) was unaware of these reliefs were related to Merenptah, several parallels between the two inscriptions exist. In both scenes there appear to be three lines of *Ššw* captives being led before the king's chariot. The upper register in Scenes 7 and 8 at the "Cour de la cachette" is missing.² In the final scene, mirroring the presentation of captives to Amun, only two lines of captives are shown. However, the relief does not correspond to other monumental reliefs. (1) In Sen I's relief, there are no captives under the horse. Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 2, but in the "Cour de la cachette" relief there are several captives depicted under the horse of Merenptah; (2) The headdresses and positions of the captives vary a great deal in both reliefs and do not follow the same sequence. In the "Cour de la cachette" relief the important element of the welcoming Egyptians is omitted entirely. These variations make possible that the scribe and artists of Merenptah were illustrating the results of a separate and distinct campaign.

eigners were depicted with different features such as the tasseled kilt or a head-band. These features may not have been exclusive to the inhabitants of *Šm*. It would seem prudent to use caution in the certification of individuals as originating from *Šm* unless textual evidence indicates that this is the case.

The iconographic evidence indicates several important aspects. The battle scenes with the "foes of *Šm*" reveal that the individuals from this region were on foot with various weapons, including axes and spears. They do not appear to have been in possession of chariots or other modes of transportation. They are not depicted as inhabitants of cities, although in some cases they appear to be defending the cities of others (Battle of Kadesh, Ramses II, Givon 1971: Pl. VI). The "Shasu Campaign" of Seti I portrays these people as marauders who may be posing a threat to the Egyptian forts along the "Ways of Horus."¹⁰ This remains consistent with the textual evidence that assumes these people to come from a neighboring region. The location of this region is important to delineate before any archaeological investigations can be initiated.

Location

The location of the geographical region *Šm* and its inhabitants is a complex and debated issue. Recent proposals include that the *Šm* "Shasu" and was located in Syria (Astour 1971; Georg 1972: 20-22; Anis 1980; Givon 1993: 27; note 5) or southern Transjordan (Givon 1971; Wadd 1972: 199; Redford 1992b: 272) or the Negev and Sinai regions (Gardiner 1920: 100, 104; B. Mazar 1981b) and as a designation for all of Palestine (Lorton 1971-72).

The campaigns of Seti I "from Sile to Pa-Canaan" are one of the primary sources to analyze how the Egyptians perceived the term *Šm*. Spalinger (1979: 30) maintains that the "fallen foes of *Šm*" were a weak enemy without chariots or horses and who, according to the reliefs, did not occupy fortresses shown on the "map" of Seti I. Spalinger also suggests that they were semi-nomadic in nature based on the texts which read "The fallen foemen of Shasu are plotting rebellion. Their tribal camps are dotted in one place, stationed in the ridges of Kadesh" (AKI 14:34). Furthermore, each day in yellow and they disregard the edicts of the palace," which Spalinger believes further stresses this aspect. However, more is written in these reliefs about the inhabitants of *Šm* than any other particular toponym indicating their significance. The fact that they were perhaps blocking the "Ways of Horus" by stationing themselves in the ridges of Kadesh indicate the seriousness of their threat to Egyptian dominance in the Sinai and Negev (Broadhurst 1989: 232; cf. Givon 1971: 59). Their threat seems to have been real, as reflected in the repeated references and depictions in these reliefs.

These proposals rest on different sets of data. The texts mentioning *Šm* together with iconographic evidence represent one set of data, and the names mentioned in association with *Šm* in the toponym lists of Amenhotep III and Ramses II are another important source for this question.

Location of *Šm*: The Semantic and Iconographic Contexts. In the texts and reliefs of Seti I at Karnak, the fallen foes of *Šm* appear between the east border of the Egyptian Delta and the city of Gaza (Gardiner 1920: 100, 104; M. Weippert 1974: 270; Spalinger 1970b: 30). The campaign itself most likely occurred along the "Ways of Horus," the itinerary highway along the coast through the Sinai (Gardiner 1920; Murnane 1988: 40-4; Oren 1987) before extending north as Registers II and possibly III indicate. The fallen foes of *Šm* are shown in the reliefs as being dispersed throughout the various fortresses along the "Ways of Horus" (Givón 1971 Pl. Va, Vb, Vc, Vg), where they appear "fallen" and "turned into corpses" before the chariot of Seti I as the texts claim. Here once again there is a close parallel between the descriptive texts and the reliefs that accompany them (Staubh 1991: 57). Once they are defeated they present tribute to the king. In Scene 4 prisoners from the region of *Šm* are depicted as being led captive in three rows back to Egypt before they are presented to Ankh-Seneb (Givón 1971 Pl. Vc).

The text accompanying these reliefs states, "The fallen (foemen) of *Šm* are plotting rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are united in one place, stationed on the ridges of Kharru" (Kitchen 1993a: 7-8; *HR* 1961-8). Because of this context some assume that this entity was located in southern Palestine and in the Sinai (Gardiner 1920: 100, 104; Lorton 1971: 72; Spalinger 1970b: 30). Lorton posits that "*Šm* and *Hm* are used synonymously in this text" and that "the designation Palestineans seems more accurate than *Šm*." (Lorton 1971: 72-140). However, the text does not state directly that "the fallen foemen of *Šm* inhabit *Hm*." Instead, they are *dmw hr* a "united in one place," and *W hr n s n* a *Hm*, "stationed on the ridges of Kharru." In this case *hr* is used as a preposition of place (Gardiner 1957: 127) providing the location of the enemy as they prepare for their attack from a defensible position. It does not indicate that the "ridges of *Hm*" are their place of origin or residence. They may have come there for the specific purpose of raiding the grain storage facilities along the "Ways of Horus." This text only supplies informa-

tion on the type of installations threatened by the *Ššw* on the Egyptian route to the eastern, Asiatic territories.

This interpretation is supported by Papyrus Anastasi VI, where it is stated: "We have finished allowing the Ššw clansfolk of Edom to pass the fort of Merenptah. He is in Succoth [Tpkz] to the pools [wkt] at Pi-Atum of Merenptah that is/are in Succoth to keep them alive and to keep alive their livestock." This seems to indicate a distant place of origin, Edom,²⁰ and migration with livestock to Egyptian locations where subsistence supplies such as water and food were available during periods of difficulty (drought).

Another text frequently cited for a northern Palestinian location of *Ššw* is the report of the Battle of Kadesh at Karnak that describes the arrival of two spies from the tribe of *Ššw* (Wilson 192–279; *ARI* II 103,12–16), also depicted in the reliefs (Givón 1971: Doc. 14) as soldiers who apparently served under the Hittite forces. But the context of these references does not make clear their place of origin or location prior to the Battle of Kadesh. Were they mercenaries serving under the Hittites? Or did the Hittites force them as captives into battle (Givón 1971)? The reliefs and texts demonstrate only that the *Ššw* fought for the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh and that their involvement was significant enough for the Egyptians to refer to them in written and iconographic form.

The schematic contexts of written sources from the XIXth Dynasty, as well as the iconography, suggests that the inhabitants of *Ššw* were more frequently encountered in the south during the reigns of Seti I and Merenptah. Their appearance at the Battle of Kadesh indicates that their influence extended to the north, where they fought together with other groups against the Egyptians. Toponymy has provided additional evidence for a location.

Location of *Ššw*: Toponym Lists and Sequence Contexts. Scholarship has long maintained that the sequence of toponym lists might provide clues concerning the location and order of toponyms encountered by the Egyptians (Helck 1973; Redford 1982a;

Edom has the determinative "throw sick + full-country" and is spelled out carefully with full syllabic orthography "which indicates that 'Edom' is known to the Egyptians as a foreign, non-Egyptian name" (Barnett 1989: 199; 387). The geographical boundaries of this location are not provided in the text. Edomites (385–2) however, the correlation with the biblical region Edom has long been assumed (Gresson 1947; Givón 1971; Barnett 1989: 1992; Kitchen 1992b; Redford 1992b; 273; Ward 1992c; Hogland 1988).

Spalinger 1979b; Ward 1992c: 1165. According to this view several toponym lists may be analyzed in relationship to *Šm*.

Earlier lists of the XVIIIth Dynasty seem to suggest a northern location for *Šm* (Görg 1976b, 1979; Ward 1992c: 1165). In a short list from the reign of Thutmose IV six names are listed: Naharin, Baly-lonia, Tump, Shasu, Kadesh, and Lakhs. Givón (1971: 15-17; Doc. 4). All of these toponyms are found in the north and east. The first two encompass northern and southern Mesopotamia. Tump and Kadesh are cities in Syria, while Lakhs is in the Lebanese Beqaa Valley (Lel 1966: 1-11; Ward 1992c: 1165). A list of Amenhotep III places another toponym, 'Ain Shasu, among place names in northern Canaan that include Duthan and Samhara (Givón 1971: 22-23; Doc. 1a; Roth Helek 1971: 261 and M. Weippert 1974: 273 locate this toponym in the Beqaa Valley). Another contemporary list places *Šm* with Pella and Qama (Givón 1971: 24-26; Doc. 1c).

From this time forward in the reign of Amenhotep III and during the XIXth Dynasty, most lists place *Šm* in Transjordan. This is the case with the designation *Šm* 'Shasu land' that occurs in the lists of Amenhotep III at Soleb and Ramesses II at Amara West (Ward 1972: 51; Givón 1971: 26-28, 74-77; Docs. 6a and 10a). In the Amara West list six toponyms are mentioned that deserve further attention — *Šm*, *Šm*, *Šm*, *Šm*, *Šm*, and *Šm*. These toponyms may either be interpreted as geographical designations or as deriving from a tribal or personal name (Knafl 1988b: 17). Because of the reference to *Šm* many scholars conclude that this refers to the biblical mountain of Seir (Givón 1971: 1947; M. Weippert 1971: 10-106; Wenig 1987; Kitchen 1964: 70; 1966b: 60 note 12; 1992b: 27; Ward 1992c: 1165-1166) and hence to Edom. This connection depends on philological relationships between the two words. In Egyptian the *s*-sign is repeated twice whereas in Hebrew *s* occurs only once. While this may have been a scribal error²² the issue of identification has not been resolved. The

²² Only the last four toponyms are extant at Soleb (Givón 1971: 26-27; Astour 1979: 19).

²³ Gardiner (1934: 29) posited that the first *s*-sign was mistakenly derived from a "column," *š* (Gardiner 1957: 496; Sign O 29), while Weippert (1974: 271 note 1) thought that the second sign was a "papyrus root" (Gardiner 1934: 133; Sign Y). Astour (1979: 22) recently suggested a new identification based on the original reading of the term and locates it together with another toponym in Thutmose III's list # 337 in western Middle Syria. Although this interpretation is followed by some (Ahström 1986: 59-60; 1993: 277 note 5; Moon 1990: 111-113), it has not gained

occurrence of the geographical region *šr* in this sequence has drawn attention from biblical scholars who see possible correlation with the divine name *YHWH* Brekelmans 1964, Noth 1948: 150, 160; Fensham 1964; S. Hermann 1967; Gorg 1976b; Weisman 1978; Weinfeld 1987; Mott 1990; H. O. Thompson 1992. This association is based on the Midianite-Kenite hypothesis that attributes the origin of *YHWH* worship to this region (cf. de Vaux 1969, 1978: 330-338; B. Mazar 1981b). One must keep in mind, however, that this is a toponym and not a personal name. Was this a mountain, a city or a land? Each of these meanings is conceivably possible. Axelsson 1987: 61. The main point is that this list is represented by six toponyms located in *šr šm*, signifying a wider geographical region that has specific locations within its boundaries.

The location of *šr šm* in Transjordan is supported by two other series of Ramesses II at Tanis. Givón 1971: 102, 14. Doc. 27: 17-18. Doc. 29. In these military documents *šr šm* is listed separately from other Asiatic toponyms, which may indicate that "it was not located *west* of the Jordan Valley, the area with which the Egyptians normally associated Asiatics" Ward 1972: 1. Moreover, Ramesses II twice describes himself as the one who "has plundered the Shasu-land, captured the mountain of Seir" (Tanis, Coloss. I E. Facs. *ARI* II 409-1. Gebel Shakh. Stela II. *ARI* II 303b. Kitchen 1992b: 27).

From this set of partial evidence it is clear that the mountain of Seir is already a fixed expression. Kitchen 1992b: 27. In the writings of Egyptian military leaders, lending credence to the reading *Se'ir* for the toponym *šr šm*. The importance of the list of Ramesses II at Amarna West is that it identifies specific toponyms in the "Shasu-land." The toponym *šr šm* has been identified with Tabat in the mountainous area of Edom. Bartlett 1981. This is confirmed by the stela of Ramesses II at Tell er-Retabeh in the eastern Delta which reads "he plunders their (=the Shasu's) mountain ridges slaying their people and bulking with towns (*dm*) bearing [his name]" Kitchen 1992b: 27. Although the location of *šm* in this text is

wide acceptance, so that most scholars continue to view this as a reference to the actual *šr* located in the vicinity of Edom or Transjordan. Heick 1984b: 820; Axelsson 1987: 61; Coote and Whorf 1987: 106-107; Weinfeld 1987; Kitchen 1992b; Redford 1993b: 272-273; Ward 1992.

Katane here has offered his earlier translation which read "he plunders their tells" (Kitchen 1992b: 27). The term *dm* is correctly translated as "ridges" not "tells" Lesko *DEL* IV: 1. This change significantly the implication of the reading "plunders their tells" which would indicate a sedentary population.

uncertain, the area where this military activity took place seems to have been mountainous.

In summary, the sequence of toponym lists, the repeated occurrence of Se'ir in parallel with *ts Šmr* and other contexts in XIXth Dynasty military documents indicate that *ts Šmr* is located in the southern regions of the Levant east of the Jordan River in a mountainous area. While it is not possible to reconstruct the exact geographical boundaries of this region, a number of toponyms such as Se'ir are recurrent in several sources indicating that the location of *ts Šmr* was in southern Transjordan in the vicinity of Edom.

Archaeological Data

The textual and iconographic references indicate a southern location for the geographical region *Šmr* and its pastoral inhabitants in the vicinity of Edom and the mountain of Se'ir. This section discusses the possibility of identifying the inhabitants of this and surrounding regions during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition.

Recent large-scale surveys (Bar-Aneš 1984, 1995; Finkelstein *et al.* 1980; Rudolf Cohen 1986; Rosen 1987) and excavations (Rosenberg 1972b; 1988; Cohen and Dever 1978, 1979, 1981; Entz and Kempinski 1983) have been conducted in the Negev and in the *Šmr*. Further survey work was carried out in the Wadi el-Hasa region (MacDonald 1988) and the Southern Ghors and Northeast Arabah (Archaeological Survey (MacDonald 1992a) in the territory of Edom.⁴ The collected material from these surveys provides the basis for the discussion.

Pastoral Nomadic Occupational Evidence

The archaeology of nomadism in the Near East continues to develop (Cribb 1980; Finkelstein and Perevolotsky 1990; Rosen 1988, 1992; cf. Bar-Yosef and Khazanov 1992) intensifying the debate in

⁴ The northern boundary of geographical Edom is placed near the Wadi el-Hasa, the Tabnet Brook Zerze (Bühl 1893: 21; cf. Lury 1896: 6; Glueck 1936: 137; Edelman 1995: 2). The southern boundary is less clear (Edelman 1995: 2) and has been viewed by some scholars as the Wadi al-Ghuwein (Burckhardt 1822: 410; Robinson and Smith 1841: 235) or more recently as extending down to Ras en-Naq and including the mountainous region of Petra (Starr 1881: 72; Lury 1896: 20; Glueck 1936: 344). The western and eastern borders would have been the Arabian south of the Dead Sea and the desert edge (cf. Edelman 1995: 3).

recent years concerning the identification of pastoral nomadic elements in the archaeological record. Archaeologists like Finkestein and Perevolotsky argue that "groups that practice subsistence economy based on hunting-gathering or animal husbandry migrate in search of food, water, and good pasture—do not leave traceable elements" (1990: 68). Others maintain that there are now methods and models to retrieve information about non-sedentary entities. These methods include: (1) careful and systematic sampling strategies; (2) meticulous recording techniques; (3) excavation methods that include sieving, flotation, pollen and phytolith analysis, and faunal analysis; and (4) ethnoarchaeology (Rosen 1988, 1992: 76-77; cf. Chiang and Kester 1986). Such techniques have led to the discovery of hundreds of sites dated to the prehistoric periods and attributed to hunter-gatherer and nomadic societies (Bar-Yosef and Phillips 1977, Marks 1976-83, Gronig-Morris 1987, Gerrard and Gebel 1988, Henry 1989). However, according to Frendo (1996: 22) the final question of whether past nomadic societies are archaeologically visible "cannot be answered with a simple 'yes' or 'no'." Frendo outlines why the issues are so complex. While certain remains are visible, there are essentially three qualifying factors that affect their interpretation. First, there are many remains which are not always visible to the archaeologist. Second, when these artifacts are unearthed it is not always possible to attribute them to nomadic societies. Finally, even when they are linked to nomadic societies there remain variable meanings that they could have in that society. Frendo cautions, "there are times when the evidence of past nomadic societies simply cannot be retrieved, and in such instances it would be incorrect to conclude that no pastoral nomads had been around in a particular area at a particular time—simply because their remains have not been uncovered by the archaeologist" (1996: 23).

This assessment fits the nature of the textual and archaeological evidence concerning the inhabitants of *Yam* during the Late Bronze III period. Although survey and excavation methods continue to be refined and are used extensively in the southern Levant, surveys revealed a near absence of Late Bronze Age sites or sherds in the Wadi el-Hasa, Southern Ghors, and Northeast Arabian regions (MacDonald 1992a: 158-159; 1992b). A similar result is reported for the region surrounding Petra (Hart 1985, 1986a; Lindner 1992). Indeed, these surveys covered much of the area designated as Edom in historical records. However, scant activity is recorded during both the

Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages with the exception of the copper-mining areas of the Feinan region. Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 173, 185, 188-190

Sedentary Occupational Evidence

There were no clear Late Bronze walled settlements in Edom, with only six possible settlements in northwest Edom. MacDonald 1902b: 113. A dramatic increase of settlement in Edomite territory occurs at the beginning of the Iron Age, but few sites are walled. MacDonald 1902a, 1902b: 11; Hart 1986a: 31; cf. Hogand 1994, Knauf-Bellen 1995.

Giveon (1969a, 1974) implied that the occupation of the inhabitants of *Šasu* during the XXth Dynasty included mining and metallurgical activities, citing the reference to *hsh* in Papyrus Harris dated to the reign of Ramses III. Helck (1967: 141 note g) connects this toponym with the verb meaning "to hammer" gold, copper, or silver. Giveon suggested a possible connection between *Šasu*, Timna, and the mining of copper in the southern regions of Transjordan and Mesopotamia. These were areas exploited by the Egyptians, with mining centers at Timna and Serâbîl el-Khâdim. Such a connection is possible but unlikely. These groups were somewhat removed from the region typically defined as *Šasu*, but due to their mobility would have posed a real threat to Egyptian economic interests. Although there is no direct evidence linking the inhabitants of *Šasu* with these mining centers, the evidence for Egyptian involvement in the mining activities was quite pronounced. The protection of the mining interests in the Wadi Arabah and Sinai would have been the very reason for Egyptian military action against these groups. Knauf 1986a: 113, 1988b: 67, 1992b: 11. Instead of viewing these pastoralists as competitors of these centers, *pace* Giveon, they may better be viewed as

Bienkowski (1991) challenges these conclusions. He asserts that there is no evidence of Late Bronze Iron Age pottery in connection with the structures at these sites with the possible exception of Ash-Shorabat and Khirbet Dubab; since no stratigraphic excavations have taken place. Bienkowski (1995: 29). Results of 1995 excavations indicate no stratified evidence for Late Bronze Age occupation (Bienkowski 1996, Bienkowski, *et al.* 1997).

That a rock drawing discovered by B. Rothenberg several kilometers from the Hathor temple depicts "a group of armed men who wear the assef belt, a Shasu garment" Giveon 1969-71: 32 seems to stretch the amount of information that can be gleaned from these graffiti marks. cf. Ward 1972.

outside threats to the lucrative mining activities controlled by the Egyptians. These centers gave the inhabitants of *Ušsat* important economic and subsistence resources during times of hardship.

Summary

Despite the advances in the archaeology of nomadism and increasingly detailed archaeological surveys, current attempts to archaeologically identify the inhabitants of *Ušsat* have not been substantiated. There are a number of reasons for this: (1) The textual and iconographic evidence does not provide a complete picture of the degree of mobility, nomadism, type of subsistence economy (pastoral and/or agricultural), or specific geographical boundaries for this entity. The mention of toponyms within *Ušsat* indicates that there might have been some sedentary elements, if they may simply have been names of significant locations and not settlements at all. (2) Few remains from the Late Bronze have been found in these regions with the exception of the mining centers at Timna Manor (1912, Rothenberg 1972, 1988, 1993) and Serabit el-Khadim, Beit Anah (1983). Surveys have associated only few indications of Late Bronze Age ceramic evidence. This certainly does not allow one to identify a specific pottery type, archaeological style, or other aspects that might make up a culture. (3) Even if archaeological remains were found, they would have little or no stratigraphic context. This would allow a degree of ambiguity in both the interpretation of the remains and the chronological context. (4) In the end, it would be difficult to assess in an unstrained, surface deposit the formation processes that may have led to the present state of the evidence over the past three millennia. A partial reconstruction of pastoral life would primarily rest on ethnographic data (Bart, 1961; Bates 1973; Benike 1980; Cumble 1981; Garvey 1988; Hordkason 1988; LaBianca 1988; cf. Hopkins 1983, 2006, 2008). Due to the current state of knowledge, an assessment of the effects of Egyptian military activity in these regions cannot be pursued. This will be the task of further investigation as the archaeology of nomadism in this region continues to develop and as archaeologists refine the details of their investigations, recording techniques, and research questions posed to the archaeological record.

In summary, several conclusions are based on the textual and iconographic evidence alone. (1) The terms *ššm'tt*, *ššm*, "Shasu" and "Sasu" are primarily to be understood as geographical designations

occurring in parallel with the toponyms of Se'ir and Edom.² The inhabitants of Šer posed a threat to the crucial "Ways of Horus" access to the southern Levant.³ These inhabitants threatened the security of Egyptian mining interests in the Arabian and Sinai (Knauf 1988a, 1988b, 1992b); and (4) The inhabitants of this region were understood by the Egyptian scribes to be in part with livestock pastoral and with tents nomadic (Knauf 1992b: 27; Giv'eon 1971: 43; Dever 38). The consequent scarcity of tangible physical remains in the archaeological record, is therefore, not surprising (Knauf 1992b: 27). The archaeological record confirms the elusive and ephemeral nature of the "foes of Shasu".

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of this chapter presents several unique issues in the correlation and synthesis of textual, iconographic, and archaeological data. Although important aspects can be found through the work of Egyptian scribes and artists, the archaeological counterpart of this analysis provided less conclusive evidence. This stems from issues of location and identification, chronology, and the natural limitations of archaeological data available.

The first major issue is one of location and identification. The Merneptah Stele does not provide sufficient internal evidence for the location of Israel. It allows one only to define Israel's location within the general boundaries of Canaan/Israel. Although Merneptah's Israel may be identified with the settlement of the hill country taking place at this time, there is little independent archaeological evidence for identifying this settlement with a specific socioethnic group. The geographical territory Šer, on the other hand, may be located within the general boundaries of Se'ir/Edom in southern Transjordan. More precise geographical boundaries for these entities/toponyms are not found in the Egyptian texts and must be inferred from biblical sources. Although this poses a degree of uncertainty in the investigation of these regions, most scholars continue to accept the association of Israel with the hill-country (Ahlstrom and Falkner 1983; Coote 1991; Ahlstrom 1986, 1993; Dever 1992a, 1995b; Ramey 1995) and Šer with the geographical boundaries of Edom (the boundaries of these geographical areas derived from information contained in the Hebrew Bible; Giv'eon 1971, 235-236; Hopkins 1993).

The chronological factor is an equally serious issue. Even if the geographical boundaries of Israel and *Šasu* are maintained, the absolute chronology is derived from textual sources. The archaeological sources provide only a relative chronology. For Israel many of the excavated settlement sites in the hill country are dated late in relation to the Merneptah Stela. This may be due to the limited number of sites that have been thoroughly excavated and the limited nature of information that can be inferred from archaeological survey. In the case of the inhabitants of *Šasu* the limitation is greater due to the total lack of stratigraphic excavation as well as variations in survey methodologies and precision. In very few cases have any Late Bronze ceramic materials been found in these regions.

A third issue is the limitation of data recovery. The present state of nomadic archaeology provides important but limited information on pastoral societies (Fredero 1996: 72-73). This allows some degree of flexibility in the interpretation of the data—lack thereof. The fact that little archaeological data are found in connection with the inhabitants of Se'ir/Ectom indicates the accuracy of the Egyptian scribes in depicting them as nonsettlementary pastoralists. These types of groups generally leave less architecture and material culture than do settlementary inhabitants. In this case, the silence of the archaeological record confirms the portrait presented by the Egyptian scribes and artists.

Despite these limitations, the investigation of socioethnic and geographical/sociocultural entities in Egyptian military documents of the XIXth Dynasty reveals several important aspects of Egyptian military tactic and strategy. From the clauses and terminology of the Merneptah Stela concerning Israel it is apparent that the destruction/confiscation of the life support system of this socioethnic group (its grain) was the main focus of military strategy. This would lead to the conclusion that Israel lacked the support system and protection that a city-state-based system might have offered. According to Egyptian perception, this tactic of destroying or confiscating their fields of grain effectively halted the threat of this entity in Canaan. The partially damaged cone-grappling evidence on the *Cour de la cachette* at Karnak indicates that these activities also would have included the destruction of life and possibly the taking of captives. The destruc-

This possibility is based on the correlation of the captives of Israel depicted in Canaanite dress in Scene 3 and the young captives dressed as Canaanites being led off in Scene 6 and 8 (Stern 1974: 96-99). The taking of captives is consistent with most military records of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties (see Chapter 5, line 60-3-4).

tion and/or confiscation of subsistence sources is in harmony with other known data analyzed in Chapter Two.

The tactics applied directly to the inhabitants of *Šm* are similar in one respect. They also are depicted out in the open areas not defended by a city-state system. In both written and iconographic sources the king is depicted as "turning them into corpses" (Kitchen 1993a: 7; *ARI* 18.1-12), slaying them all at once and leaving "the heirs among them" (Kitchen 1993a: 7-8; *ARI* 19.1-8). Their bodies are shown piled up before the fortress of Pa-Canaan (Gaza; Epigraphic Survey 1989: Pl. 5). The themes of these inhabitants being captured *and* plundered *by* and carried off *in* are recurrent in the textual and iconographic sources as well (*ARI* 1-7.1-2). This is consistent with Egyptian military terminology employed throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. In addition to the inhabitants of *Šm*, the Egyptians mention several key elements as the focus of their military activity. In Papyrus Harris I, 209-11, Ramses III claims to have "plundered their tents with their people, their property, and their livestock likewise" (Eichsen 1933: vs. Kitchen 1992b: 27). This text provides crucial information for the sociopolitical structure of the inhabitants of *Šm*, but also indicates the focus of Egyptian military activities. This included the pillaging of their sources of shelter (tents), their economic base (property), and their subsistence system (yeast/stock/animal husbandry; see also Papyrus Anastos VI: 1-11). These were the very core elements of their subsistence economy. Without these elements life in the desert regions would be impossible. The depiction of the "foes of *Šm*" out in the open, outside the walled fortresses in the reliefs of Sen I and Merenptah at Karnak supports this interpretation.

The contrast between Merenptah's Israel and the inhabitants of *Šm* is, therefore, established by several parameters. First, the Egyptians employed distinct names for each entity. The sociopolitical entity Israel is a separate entity and is not used by the Egyptians in parallel with *Šm*. Second, they occupy different areas. Israel is located within the geographical boundaries of Canaan/*Hm* while the geographical region *Šm* has close connections with Seir/Edom in Transjordan. Third, the subsistence economy of each entity differs during the latter half of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth Dynasties. Israel appears to be a settled agriculturally-based sociopolitical entity living outside a city-state system. The inhabitants of *Šm*, on the other hand, are non-sedentary pastoralists living in tents with their livestock. The term

mhaa, "clan-tribe," used in connection with the *ššm* in Papyrus Harris I, gives further indication of the social structure of these inhabitants. In both cases, the Egyptians describe military tactics that are consistent within the framework of their overall goals in the southern Levant.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOWARD A PARADIGM FOR EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY DURING THE XIXTH DYNASTY

In conducting this study of Egyptian military activity in the southern Levant, the analysis of terminology and iconography of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties in Chapter One produced significant conclusions regarding the Egyptian perception of military activity in surrounding regions. In Chapter Two archaeological contexts were investigated at all sites occurring in Egyptian records in order to determine the possible effects of this activity on the archaeological record. Chapter Three included a study of other socioethnic and geographic/sociocultural entities in order to determine the military policy toward entities of differing sociopolitical structure. The aim of this integrative investigation was to propose a paradigm for Egyptian military activity in the southern Levant during the XIXth Dynasty that would provide Syro-Palestinian archaeologists with an interpretive model for assessing destructions during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. Finally, this study contributes to an overall understanding of the purpose and interest of Egyptian military activity in the context of an imperialist model of domination.

SUGGESTED PARADIGM OF EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY

The research design guiding this investigation addressed questions dealing with the focus, means, and extent of Egyptian military activity. Due to the limitations inherent in both historical and archaeological contexts, this research design was comprehensive, with questions addressed to all sources for the reconstruction of Egyptian military activity during the XIXth Dynasty. The results are presented according to the categories outlined above.

Focus of Destruction

A major point in the investigation of military activity is to determine the focus of destructions. What type of entities did the Egyptians

attack and what were the reasons for their attack? Was their destructive activity directed against peoples and inhabitants of the regions and city-states attacked, cities and villages themselves, or both? These types of questions were better answered from the textual and toponymographic data. The conclusion of this study was that both were affected to some degree but that statistically the focus of the destructive activity was aimed primarily at the inhabitants of the land.

The statistics of military terminology in terms of both variety and frequency of occurrences indicate that the military action taken by the Egyptians is directed most frequently against the inhabitants of the lands or city-states conquered. Of twenty-six terms employed one hundred and seventy-five times during the reign of Seti I, ninety-two occurrences (53%) are contextually identified with the inhabitants, seventy-four occurrences (42%) with foreign lands, six (3%) with general entities such as Retenu and Aamu, and three (2%) with cities or settlements and walls. During the reign of Ramses II twenty-eight terms are used three hundred and fifty-nine times. The number of contexts with cities increases to forty-two occurrences (12%). This usage is restricted to only three terms, *mr* 3 (*hf* 40) and *wt* 1. The higher frequency during the reign of Ramses II is attributed solely to the new formula "Town which his majesty put to rest" *hf* "carried away *mr* CrN" which occurs in several toponym lists together with representations of those cities in rebel. This phrase is not recorded in the documents of Seti I or Merneptah. The documents of Merneptah attest to the usage of fourteen terms employed fifty-six times. Forty-one occurrences (73%) concern military actions directed against people. Six references (10%) are directed at the (crisis) which he uses weapons, possessions, and horses. There are five general references (10%) to the destruction of larger geographical areas/lands. Only four times (7%) do the documents of Merneptah refer to specific city-states or villages in general. Of all military terminology employed during the XIXth Dynasty, the least frequently mentioned action is against cities (8%). Thus, the major focus of Egyptian military activity was not directed against cities. Instead, the Egyptians seemed primarily concerned with dissidents and rebellious populations that crossed their boundaries, infringing on the *mr*'s "truth, justice, order," of Egypt (*hf*; cf. Galán 1995).

Enemies and Inhabitants

The Egyptian records depict the slaying *mr*, trampling *ppt*, *ntf* and destruction (*skt*) of the surrounding enemies. These enemies are largely viewed as rebellious *bt* and evil. If not slain, the Egyptian policy was to carry off into captivity the chiefs *wr* *ARI* I 14 II 14b, 13, II 154 2 IV 6, 14 their children and brothers *ARI* IV 8, 6, IV 15-6 women *ARI* IV 9, 2 and carrying on their backs or leading before them all their goods. These goods included weapons *ARI* IV 9, 4 horses *ARI* IV 9, 5 and general route *mr*, *krd* II 12, I 1, 4 I 1, 3 II 4, 3 II 13, 10; II 14, 12 II 10, 12.

The evidence for this type of activity in the archaeological record is difficult to ascertain. One might attribute the reduction of site-size as reflecting demographic trends (Zartu 1964) but the reasons for this would not be easily apparent archaeologically. A gap in occupation after a given destruction may also represent mass deportation. However it may also be that the numbers slain or taken back to Egypt during the XIXth Dynasty were exaggerated and did not constitute a major portion of the population. Nevertheless the importance of the focus of destruction would have major implications for assessing the archaeological data.

Cities and Villages

The actions taken against cities and villages in the documents of the XIXth Dynasty are described by seven clauses. The majority are said to be "plundered" *hf* 3rd times, 80%. A parallel term used is "armed away" *mr* 4 times, 80%. The general statement that walls are "breached" *sd* is made twice, 4%. Only once is a settlement said to be "trampled" *ppt* 2%, "seized" *mr* 2% or made "to be non-existent" *mr* 2%. The last occurrence may be viewed as a stereotypical rhetoric found in other contexts. However the other terms, due to their frequency and specific nature seem to have a more direct application to the actual actions taken against the cities and villages of the southern Levant. The first two terms *hf* and *mr* do not necessarily indicate destruction. They seem to imply the taking of plunder and spoils from the city itself. What took place during or after this process is left open. The third term *sd* indicates that there was some destruction that took place against walls. The iconography of these cities provides some further evidence.

The depiction of cities in the southern Levant surrounded by fortifications indicates the possible result of Egyptian military activity. If the depictions are to be taken as representing a literal fortified city and not something symbolic, then the results of "plundering" and/or "carrying away" can be seen in a number of the rebels. After the military actions have taken place the city is depicted empty. This may indicate the reality of the Egyptian claim to have "left no survivor" or that all was taken back to Egypt. At any rate, the city is shown with its gates askew, the Egyptians apparently having forced their entry into the city by destroying the gate. This action can be seen in the military scene of Merneptah against Ashkelon, where a soldier is seen swinging an axe against the gate of the city. Wreszski (1935: Pl. 58) likewise, four soldiers of Ramesses III are shown actively hacking at the gate of the city of Luniy. *M/II Pl. 88*. Thus, the partial destruction of at least the city gate is presented. This action was necessary in providing the Egyptians with an entry into the city. Unfortunately, few gates actually survive in archaeological contexts to assess the question from an archaeological standpoint.

The evidence presented in this study indicates that populations, sociopolitical entities, and their cities were the focus of Egyptian mili-

Two interpretational possibilities exist for the depiction of cities on the walls of temples in ancient Egypt. Most Israeli archaeologists view these as stereotypical representations that are more symbolic than literal. Oren (1987: 96-97; Oren and Shereshevsky 1989; A. Mazar 1991: 10) based on the work of Naemann (1973) who referred to these cities as *Abstraktionen des Begriff Festung*. One of the main factors cited in favor of this interpretation is the alleged lack of fortifications during the Late Bronze Age in the southern Levant (Gonen 1981; A. Mazar 1981).

However, several sites apparently were heavily fortified during this period, including Tell el-Hawari (Gonen 1981: 9-11), Beth Shear, Straton (A. Rowe 1936; Kempinski 1992: 13; Gonen, Bevan, et al. 1984: 191), Dimeh, and Yankel (1991; Yankel 1991; Yankel 1991; see Baumgartner 1992: 143; Engelstein 1991; Hazor Area K, Bevan et al. 1984; Tell Jemmeh, Van Beek 1963; Gonen 1981; Tell North, Arzy 1981; and Tell el-Hamir, Yankel et al. 1990). As Baumgarten recently states,

The controversy on the fortifications is rather semantic: was there or was there not a city wall? It is senseless to have a gate [at Hazor, Megiddo] if it is not connected to some kind of fortification. The city should *look* fortified, and that need not be necessarily a solid wall: the outer wall of the line of buildings on the edge of the tell will do. Baumgarten (1992: 113, note 1).

Indeed, when the MB fortification systems were simply razed during the Late Bronze, Gates were reconstructed and some repairs made these systems as effective as they had been previously (Baumgartner 1992: 143). Furthermore, Egyptian depictions of forts on the "Ways of Horus" in Senusert's campaign from Suwayd-Pan-ana show a striking resemblance to sites like Deir el-Balah, Harat el, and Bir el-Ahmad with their respective reservoirs (T. Dothan 1985b; see Chapter Two, 96-99).

tary activity. The wholesale destruction of the city was not the primary goal, although a partial destruction may have been necessary if resistance continued to the point of the enemy barricading themselves within the walls/rampart of the city. According to the historical records the inhabitants and their possessions which could be taken as booty were the primary focus of destruction. Indeed, according to Egyptian perception, they were the ones who had caused the disruptions and disturbed the *ma'at*—truth, justice, order—of the land.

Means of Destruction

The means of Egyptian military activity is of crucial interest in understanding the effects that this might have on the archaeological record. Were cities, life-support systems and other belongings of the enemy burned, in massive conflagration? Was sword warfare, infantry, or chariotry used? Was the battering ram and other siege equipment employed against defensive structures? Or were battles largely directed away from cities and fought out in the open terrain? The means of destruction would determine the probability of whether it might be detected in the archaeological record. Open-terrain warfare would leave little material remains in significant spatial concentrations, while siege warfare might leave significant evidence that might be preserved in an archaeological context. The primary tactics used are largely attested in iconographic depictions and can thus be categorized as (1) open-terrain warfare and (2) siege warfare.

Open-Terrain Warfare

Several depictions of open-terrain warfare occur in Egyptian reliefs. One of the earliest examples is Seti I's battle against the "foes of Shasu." Here the inhabitants of Syria are shown outside the city-state defensive system. They are on foot with spears, axes, and other weapons and are pursued by the king. Details of the Egyptian military are not as apparent in this depiction, but the celebrated reliefs of the "Battle of Kadesh" provide significant material for further analysis. The use of infantry and chariotry are evident from these reliefs (Ta-

The reliefs of the "Battle of Kadesh" have been the subject of a number of detailed studies (Breasted 1903; Lamon 1981; Spalinger 1985a). The problems and issues involved in their reconstruction go beyond the purview of this study. Only some aspects of open-terrain warfare have been dealt with here.

occur at Abu Simbel, Luxor, and the Ramesseum. Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 16-19.

Infantry The effectiveness of an army depends on its organization and discipline. This discipline is shown by representations of infantry at the Battle of Kadesh. The Egyptian infantry is shown as tightly packed phalanxes. Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 17. Each man is holding a large shield on his left arm and a sickle sword or axe in his right. They are marching in close formation surrounded on all sides by chariotry. In another scene they are preceded by archers on foot. Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 24. The Hittite military art is also depicted in similar close formation. Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 22-23. However, they hold no shield and are armed with a short, straight sword, possibly the Naia II type, and spears. They are guarding the baggage train being transported on carts drawn by horses and oxen. On Hittite infantry, see Beal 1992: 1995.

Due to the nature of the weaponry, most of the battles were fought out in the open. The two sides would approach one another in a flat open area, and the results depended on the shock administered in the initial contact, as well as other factors such as good pre-battle intelligence, overwhelming manpower, the element of surprise, tactical innovation, technological superiority, better leadership, lighter morale, and superior discipline and training. Schulman 1995: 201. The infantry was supported by chariot-mounted archers, a unique development of the Late Bronze Age.

Chariotry. By about 1650 B.C. the Hyksos, who took over Egypt, the Hittites, and other major groups in Cyprus, had access to chariots and were using them to their advantage in warfare. Drews 1998: 102-105.

Recent studies regarding the role of chariotry in warfare have been divided. For Hittite chariotry, many scholars have argued that they were used as a thrusting vehicle for a lance held by its riders. Schachermeyr 1951: 210; Yadin 1963: 108-109; Stalling 1967: 121. This view is based on reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh where Hittites are shown carrying the lance but never armed with the bow. Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 22. Even for Egyptian chariotry, some see it as nothing more than a vehicle for transport. Schulman 197-180: 125-128. Recently, however, Drews 1993: 113-134, has convincingly argued that the chariot was used as a mobile platform for archers using composite bows. His interpretation was accepted by Schulman (1995: 295).

Chariotry was an important factor in military strategy. There are several interpretations of how it was used in battle. Some conclude that chariotry provided a highly mobile platform that allowed archers to shoot from a protected area at the advancing infantry. It screened and protected its own infantry by traveling ahead of it (Powell 1962: 163-164; Schulman 1993: 29). Trevor Watkins (1993: 31), on the other hand, suggested that the chariotry was held in reserve until a decisive moment came for the infantry. At that time the chariotry would be ordered into the battle (cf. Drews 1993: 127; Drews 1993: 128) maintains that the chariotry charged at one another as arrows from the archers rained down on opposing sides. As they neared one another the horses would find a way through the lines of the enemy. As they reached beyond the enemy who was now behind, they could turn and shoot at the retreating enemy. After turning around a new charge would take place. This would repeat itself until one of the forces suffered enough loss not to return to the battle. A number of possibilities exist for the actual maneuvering of chariotry during battle.

Archaeological evidence for open-terrain warfare is limited to the depictions on monuments preserved through the centuries. Weapons that are found in burials and other contexts can be compared to these regalia, as can chariot fittings from several Late Bronze sites (see Chapter Two, 104-105). When open-terrain warfare was not successful and soldiers retreated behind the protection of their walled city-states, the Egyptian military were forced to take other actions necessary for their subjugation and defeat. These actions were found in the protracted siege of the city.

Siege Warfare

Although there are no real written records concerning siege warfare during the XIXth Dynasty, elements of siege warfare are often depicted on Egyptian reliefs that provide a glimpse of siege tactics as they were conducted during battles. Again the prowess of the king is emphasized through his exaggerated size, and other smaller details are apparent upon closer inspection. Basically, there were three possible ways into a city once it was besieged: 1) through the walls (breaching); 2) over the walls (scaling); or 3) under the walls (tunneling or sapping; cf. Schulman 1964b: 14).

Battering Ram. The battering ram was developed already in the

Middle Bronze Age Yadin 1963. A Middle Kingdom relief depicts a mantelet housing two soldiers from which a mattock, a simple long staff used also as an agricultural tool, is being used against the walls of a city Schulman 1964b: 14. The Egyptian use of this equipment seems very rare during the XIXth Dynasty. There is only one relief that may indicate the use of a mattock. In the battle against the city of Dapur during the reign of Ramesses II, Ramesseum, Yeasselt, Leclanc and Maher 1977, Pl. XXII, see Figure 4-47, four mantelets are shown at the base of the tell. It is possible that beneath the mantelets battering rams are being used against the fortification system Schulman 1964b: 17. From textual sources, there are two occurrences of the term *sd*, "to breach" which appear in the records of Seti I and Ramesses II. Both clauses are identical, stating "Victorious king who protects Egypt who breaches *sd* the walls of rebellious lands" *ARI* 17,11; Kitchen 1993a: 9; *ARI* II:166,7). This may indicate that the scribes of Ramesses II copied this from Seti's reliefs at Karnak.

Scaling. The tactic of scaling appears much more frequently in Egyptian iconography. In the siege of Dapur, a scaling ladder is being climbed by two soldiers who are interfering themselves with their shields during the ascent (Figure 4-47). At Ashkenon two siege ladders on both sides of the walls are depicted. A soldier climbs the one to the right holding a sword before him (Figure 6, 30). Four soldiers are shown climbing two ladders to gain the advantage against the city of Iunp, under Ramesses III (Figure 7-71). Some soldiers are already within the first walls of the city and are attacking their enemies.

Sapping. Sapping equipment is known from Old Kingdom tomb paintings at the tomb of Inty at Deshasheh Wierszinski 1935, Tat. 4. Two pointed rowbars are being used by soldiers to weaken the wall. This scene may illustrate a form of sapping and is one of the few examples of this tactic Schulman 1964b: 14. During the siege of Iqata of the temple of Ramesses II, Amara West *ARI* II 213; Kitchen 1993: 73, another scene demonstrates the use of rams in sapping the walls of the city.

The act of besieging a city included all of these tactics, some of which may be evident in the archaeological record. However, the lack of excavation and in some cases, the failure of archaeologists to ask these and other important questions pertaining to military activity, have limited archaeology as a resource to answer these questions. Many are merely looking for evidence of conflagration that might

indicate discontinuity and warfare while other possible interpretations of the data are not forthcoming. Even this simple correlation is not a given when addressing Egyptian military activity.

Conflagration. The use of conflagration is perhaps one of the most common military policies that can be detected in the archaeological record. Indeed, most "destructions" are identified as such by archaeologists on the basis of widespread ash and burnt material alone. Since most of the sites destroyed in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transient seem to have also been completely burned to the ground, the act of intense conflagration is one that has been widely associated with Egyptian military policy. Further questions are in order before this assumption is made. Do Egyptian textual and iconographic sources provide any information on the use of conflagration as a military policy? If so, to what was it applied? Were cities and other possessions burned to the ground?

The textual evidence presented in Chapter One indicates that conflagration terminology was often used as a metaphor for the king and his army. Most often his breath or rays were directed against the enemy, the inhabitants of the land whom he "burned" *whd*. This "blaze" (*akh* of "fire" *sh*) or "fiery blaze" *hh* was a rhetorical device employed to denote the supreme power of the pharaoh. The metaphor that describes the enemy coming directly into the fire means that they come into contact with the armies of Egypt. Behind these metaphorical clauses may stand the reality of the flames of fiery destruction. This is evident in several direct references not necessarily couched in metaphoric language.

In only one text of Sen. I at Karnak can there be a possible connection between the destruction of towns and fire. Campaign against the Hittites. The text states, "How mighty is his [the king's] power against them, just like fire *hr* when he destroys *akh* their towns" *ARD 1.8.14* Kitchen 1993a: 15. This term for fire *hr* may be interpreted either as a metaphor for the power of the king mentioned in the previous clause, or it may refer to a direct action against the towns which are said to be destroyed. Based on the wider contextual usage of this term in the XIXth Dynasty as a metaphor for the king, the first interpretation is more likely. Even if this be taken as literal use of fire, this is the only instance where such a correlation can be made during the XIXth Dynasty.

There are two additional statements where burning is used in

direct reference to the structures of the enemy. In Merneptah's Great Libyan War Inscription at Karnak, the text states, "They were taken away ----- fire *hr* was set to the camp and their tents of leather" *ARI* IV 9,10). In the context of the account all the booty, including 9,111 copper swords, was taken away from the Meshwesh before their camp was set on fire. In the Merneptah Stela, a parallel, poetic account of the Great Libyan War Inscription, a similar claim is made: "Their camp was burned and made a roast, all his possessions were food for the troops" *ARI* IV 14-14. Thus, the camps of the Libyans are subject to conflagration only when their goods have been confiscated.

The textual evidence indicates that there are only three direct references to conflagration in all the accounts of the XIXth Dynasty: two of these are associated with one action against the Libyans and the destruction of their camps/tents, and only one statement deals with unsuspected towns and villages. There is absolutely no evidence of any use of conflagration in the iconography of known rebels. This indicates that overall, these references are rare in the Egyptian literature and cannot be interpreted as a general military tactic of the Egyptians.

The implications for the interpretation of archaeological contexts are worth noting. Since it was not in the Egyptian interest to bury cities to the ground after they were plundered or the inhabitants and booty carried away, the destruction of cities that exhibit evidence of massive and total conflagration must not be connected automatically with Egyptian military activity. The extent of destruction was apparently much more limited than anyone had previously thought.

Extent of Destruction

Another important factor in the evaluation of destructions in archaeological contexts is the extent of the destruction. Was the purpose of Egyptian military activity total destruction of populations, cities, and villages? What parts of cities were affected by the destruction, or was the entire city destroyed? What was the policy against the support-systems such as the fields, orchards, and crops? The textual, iconographic, and archaeological contexts provide the basis for answers to this category of questions that contributes to an overall understanding of Egyptian military activity in the southern Levant.

Gates and Defensive Systems

There are several textual and iconographic cases where gates and defensive systems walls are mentioned or depicted. The two cases where the "breaching" of walls is mentioned are general and include all foreign lands. The iconography is more specific. Several reliefs of the XIXth Dynasty indicate that the effects of "plundering" a given city resulted in the destruction the gate (see Chapter One, 48-52). The forts that have been overcome are standing empty with their gates askew (Figure 5, 49). The actions against the gate are shown in several reliefs depicting soldiers who are hacking at the gate with their axes (Figure 1, 30; Figure 7, 31). However, the gate area seems to be the extent of the destruction in these reliefs. In all cases, the walls are still intact and suffered little structural damage. Thus, the extent of the destruction of defensive systems was limited to the gate, an observation that is consistent with the view that the Egyptians did not burn the whole city to the ground after their plundering activities.

The archaeological data do not contradict this picture. At Gezer the section of the LB outer wall foundation, excavated in 1936 (Dever and Yonker 1991; Dever 1991; 1993a), was found standing complete and did not seem to be totally destroyed. There is some evidence that the Stratum IB gate at Area K at Hazor also suffered destruction (although it is not certain whether this represents Stratum IB or IA). Other sites were completely destroyed and, therefore, do not fit within the normal paradigm of Egyptian military activity (Beth Shan, Hazor, Stratum IA, Pella, Tell Yin'am).

Administrative, Cultic, and Domestic Buildings

The Egyptian textual and iconographic sources do not indicate what type of action was taken against administrative, cultic, and domestic buildings. The texts lack specificity in their description of actions against cities and those actions that are mentioned are not frequent. The reliefs show only the exterior of cities. The damage that might be caused inside the city eludes the viewer. For these reasons the archaeological contexts of destruction are deemed important for the reconstruction of Egyptian military activity against elements inside the cities themselves.

The limited nature of excavations has not made this a simple task

No administrative buildings other than the palace in Area A of the upper city at Hazor and buildings from Level IX at Beth Shan have been excavated extensively enough to yield further conclusions. Both were destroyed in a heavy conflagration dating to the end of the fourteenth century B.C.—well before the date of the XIXth Dynasty.

The "destruction" of Stratum IB in the Lower City of Hazor lacks conflagration. Included are the temple and some domestic structures in Area C. Since the subsequent buildings are constructed along the same lines, it is apparent that there was little cultural change. Moreover, the amount of damage was rather minimal and could have been due to minor architectural changes. However, if this destruction is to be equated with the destruction of the palace in Stratum XIV of the upper city, then the type of "destruction" would not be indicative of Egyptian military activity as it is described in Egyptian texts and iconography. At Gezer domestic structures in Field II were destroyed in what might have been a localized disturbance. The rest of the picture for Stratum XV is more sporadic. Field I contains no evidence of destruction, but a distinct gap exists between Phases 5 and 4. A major gap is found in Field IV. This gap in occupation may indicate a stronger connection with the action of Egypt's taking captives and booty. This would explain the apparent gap in Stratum XIV—before Beutonne pottery appears on the scene from I as Egyptian military dominance over the region weakened.

Fields, Orchards, and Crops

One of the most effective military tactics was directed against the subsistence systems for both city-states and socioethnic entities. The evidence for the confiscation and/or destruction of fields, orchards, and crops is evident from both textual and iconographic sources. Earlier Egyptian military records of Thutmose III described the action in the following way: "Now his majesty destroyed the town of Aramya with its grain . . . All its fruit trees were cut down" (Wilson 1969a: 249; *Lrk* IV 487-5-7; cf. *Lrk* IV 489, 7-10; IV 729 15-730 1). These texts explicitly state that both "grain" (*nt*) and "trees" (*mn*) are "cut down" (*chr*) "felled" (*fd*) or "destroyed" (*dk*). It is apparent that in the late New Kingdom more stereotypical language was employed to describe the same action.

The XIXth and XXth Dynasty military documents describe the effects on trees, crops, and produce by the verb *fk* *ARI* IV 19,7 and

clauses, *n pttf* 'its/their/our seed is not' ARJ IV 197, V 20,2; V 21,14, V 2414 V 4313, V 607 V 658 and *fdq ttr sn mn*, 'their root is cut off' ARJ V 15,2 V 24 26 V 431 V 6311. The contextual subjects of destruction or confiscation are grain, trees, and harvest.

The action of the destruction of crops and orchards is depicted in several reliefs. As Sen I is depicted approaching the chiefs of Lebanon on the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, they bow before him and cut down the cedars of Lebanon in an effort to appease him (see Figure 9-83). At Luxor an unnamed city is shown standing empty with its gates askew (Wrośniski 193: Pl. C). The surrounding hills depicted to the left are covered with what is left of its fruit trees. They have been cut down and are shown in piles amid the brush. In another depiction Ramesses III is shown advancing against the city of Ithap (see Figure 7-11). To the right outside the walls three Egyptian soldiers are cutting down trees with axes. Behind one can be seen a pile of fruit trees that have been cut down.

These actions against city-states in the event of siege can have several meanings. On the one hand, the Egyptian soldiers are in need of food supplies as they await the surrender of the enemy. The fruit trees and grain from the surrounding fields are close at hand. The other advantage is that they wish to deprive the citizens of their source of subsistence. In addition, the wood from these trees could also serve as building materials for scaling ladders, mantlets, and other siege equipment.

The destruction of grain as an action against semiotheic entities such as Israel and the Libyans may not be further reasons. These groups are without a city-state defensive system. Their very survival depends on the land's produce and other subsistence strategies. To deprive them of their means of survival is to make them ineffective as a threat to Egypt or to the peace of the surrounding regions.

Summary

The suggested paradigm for Egyptian military activity provides archaeologists with important questions that encompass the focus, means, and extent of destruction at a particular site. These questions have been addressed to textual, iconographic, and archaeological contexts in order to provide an integrated approach. Several important questions were answered.

1 According to textual records, Egyptian military activity focused primarily on the populations of the southern Levant which were viewed as dissidents, rebelling against Egypt. This is reflected in the iconography. The iconography also depicts numerous cities that were plundered, suffering minor structural damage as a result.

2 The means of destruction was generally open-terrain warfare using infantry and chariotry against socioethnic entities and citizens of city-states. Siege warfare was conducted only when the enemy did not engage in open-terrain warfare and retreated into their enclosed cities. The acts of this means of destruction included the battering ram, scaling ladders, and tools for sapping.

3 The textual and iconographic evidence indicates that the Egyptians did not employ wide-scale and total conflagration of cities. The Egyptian interest was only in subduing them, bringing them back under the control of Egypt, and taking the plunder, booty, and captives back to Egypt. Based on this evidence, signs of wide-scale and total conflagration at Late Bronze sites in the southern Levant would normally be indicative of other forces and not Egyptian military activity.

4 Archaeological correlates at sites like Gezer and Hazor indicate that Egyptian destructions were minimal and did not encompass the entire site. Although speaking for a different period, Dever's statement is correct for the Late New Kingdom: "that 'it is usually only the gate area and a few prominent buildings that are violently destroyed' at least in the Egyptian and pre-Assyrian campaigns in Palestine" (Dever 1990: 76).

By posing questions of this nature to existing sources currently available, one becomes aware of the limitations that are inherent in the sources. The textual and iconographic sources are incomplete and the descriptions are general and highly circumstantial. Further archaeological research in Egypt and in the southern Levant may yield other monumental inscriptions and reliefs, stelae, and hieratic inscriptions that may contribute to these questions. In the archaeological contexts of the southern Levant, archaeologists may be encouraged to seek for answers to some of the detailed questions pertaining to the destructions at sites within the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age horizon. In time, these endeavors will complete this paradigm and thereby increase its effectiveness as a tool for the discipline.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study are crucial for the discipline, for they imply that Egyptian military activity is not the major factor for the destruction of sites in the transition. If indeed Egypt did not have a part in the wholesale destruction of cities in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze III period, then the question must be posed again. Who or what did? Is the causative factor to be sought in natural phenomena such as earthquakes, drought, or disease? Can it be attributed to population movements such as the incoming "Sea Peoples" or Israelites? Was the result of weakening Egyptian control, internecine warfare among the Canaanite city-states? Or were there changes in weaponry and military awareness that gave the common population the edge to overthrow the city-states? These are some of the questions that remain unresolved and call for further investigation.

In terms of military warfare similar research designs may be developed for other population groups such as the local "Canaanites," Hittites, Philistines, and Israelites, in order to determine what their military strategies might have been and what results may still be preserved in archaeological contexts.

Other explanatory models must be tested within the framework of all known textual and archaeological data for an integrated conceptualization of events that led to the collapse of this period of history.

The end of the Bronze Age was not a swift event, but one that extended over a period of about a century, an unprecedented phenomenon encompassing the entire eastern Mediterranean. The wide geographical and temporal nature of these "crisis years" indicates that the collapse cannot be attributed to one causative agent. As recent studies on collapse indicate, there are numerous causative factors in the collapse of societies (Tainter 1988: 39-90; Yoffee and Cowgill 1988). The Egyptians, who had an imperialist interest in the southern Levant, cannot be seen as the cause of this collapse. As Tainter points out, "It is difficult to understand why barbarians would destroy a civilization if it was worth invading in the first place" (Tainter 1988: 89). The Egyptians were not "barbarians." Indeed, they sought the stability of the region for economic and political interests. Their military activity in the southern Levant can be seen as an attempt to stem the tide of destruction and instability that was sweeping through the region, weakening their hold on this important crossroads to the east. How did they accomplish this goal?

The decline of the southern Levant could already be seen at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty as is evident from the Amarna letters. With the accession of Seti I there was a new interest to restore order. The Egyptian accounts testify to this. The First Beth Shan stela records the attack of Canaanite forces on the city of Beth Shan, one of the centers of Egyptian administration. The archaeological record shows evidence of a massive destruction at the end of Level IX. Seti I sets out to recapture the city and speaks of the defeat of 13 rebellious neighbors, Yeno am and Hammath. During the same campaign the fallen foes of Shasu are causing trouble for the supply fortresses along the "Ways of Horus," and Seti I claims to have defeated those who "are plotting rebellion" and disregarding the edicts of the palace (Kathen 1963a: 7-8). Thus, according to the Egyptian perception of events they were acting in defense of their interests in the face of a mounting crisis.

At the end of Stratum VII at Beth Shan, there is another major destruction and this time it is possible that Ramses II came in defense of the city. As to the rest of his campaigns in Transjordan, Moab and further north into Syria, it appears that these may have been attempts to gain new territory or reestablish older dominions which his father, Seti I was unable to procure. The inhabitants of Syria continued to pay tribute to Egypt by apparently threatening the economic stability of Egyptian mining interests in the Wadi Arabah and Sinai.

By the time of Merenptah there were other forces that threatened the stability of the southern Levant. The "Sea Peoples" encroached upon the coastal areas. A semimythic group called Israel was threatening other parts of the region. Merenptah, perhaps authorizing the leadership of prince Set II, again set out to stabilize the conditions of Egypt's northern realm. The Hittites, after the treaty of Ramses II, were still at peace with Egypt and apparently were causing no difficulties, while the Libyans had been defeated in an earlier campaign. Merenptah dealt with the situation, claiming to overcome Ashkelon, seize Gezer, make Yeno am as though it were nonexistent and destroy the fields and grain of Israel, pacifying all lands and binding all those who were restless and rebellious. But his success would be short-lived. Egyptian dominance over the region was weakened beyond the stage of recovery. Efforts under Ramses III, nearly a decade later, are made to restate stability in the region. But other forces such as the Philistines would establish themselves in the major

centers along the southern coastal plain. The very "Ways of Horus" defended and used by Egypt for nearly two centuries is blocked. By the time of Ramses VI Egyptian material culture in the southern Levant ceases and Egypt's interests return to areas closer to home as the third intermediate period begins.

APPENDIX

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MERENPTAH STELA

The poetic structure of the Merenptah Stela has received increased attention over the past decade of scholarship. Various structures have been proposed on the basis of which significant conclusions were drawn regarding the entities mentioned on the stela. These hymnic-poetic structures will be evaluated before a new structure is proposed on the basis of the parallelism of political and geographical sequences and terms which most accurately maintain the integrity of the text. An understanding of the basic terms is important before entering the discussion of structure.

TOWARD A DEFINITION OF TERMS

Pa-Canaan

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Pa-kanu* appears once on the Merenptah Stela (RI IV 193) and an additional fifteen times in Egyptian texts beginning with the XVIIIth Dynasty.

Identification. The entity *Pa-kanu* on the Merenptah Stela is most widely translated as Canaan (Spiegelberg 1896; Breasted 1906; Wilson 1909; M. Lichtheim 1970; Heck 1980c; Gorg 1982; Tsch 1983; Hornung 1983; Altmann 1984; Kaplony-Heckel 1985; Stager 1987b; Yurci 1988; 1990; Na'aman 1994c; but see Wood 1981; Nishi 1989; Redford 1986a, 1987; Hollman et 1991: 29). The entity *Canaan* appears in the phrase "Canaan has been plundered in every sort of woe."

Geographical Extent of Canaan. The geographical extent of Canaan, as viewed by the Egyptians is crucial to understanding the Merenptah Stela. Did Canaan refer to Egypt's southern province in the northeast or did it refer to a larger area? Investigations of the

The term *kanu* appears sixteen times in Egyptian texts beginning with the XVIIIth Dynasty (Gorg 1982; Altmann 1984: 81-84). The earliest reference is in the inscriptions of Amenhotep II where the Canaanites are listed as prisoners together with the Mariannu and their wives (Edel 1953r: 123-124, 132, 167-170; Wilson 1969a: 246).

organization of the southern Levant during the period of Egyptian domination¹ have led to several views. Herck 1960: 6-8, 971-240-255, suggested that the region was divided into three provinces during the Amarna period (Canaan, Amurru, and Upi). According to this view Canaan was administered by the city of Gaza (Katzenstein 1982; Uehlinger 1988). This view was accepted by a number of scholars (Aharoni 1979: 130-131; de Vaux 1968: 27-28; Kitchen 1969: 81; Drower 1970: 412; Zobel 1984: 23; Stolz 1988: 41; cf. Moran 1992: xxvi note 76) although others have argued for different configurations. Na'aman 1981: 183 maintained the division of Egyptian territory in Asia into two provinces, the first encompassing the Phoenician coast and most of Palestine, the other southern Syria and northernmost Palestine. Earlier, a similar organization had been noted by Edel 1953: 31. While Na'aman decreased the number of provinces, Redford 1984a: 26 suggested four provinces with administrative centers at Gaza, Megiddo/Beth Shan, Kumdi, and Ullaza/Sumer. This point of contention must be understood properly in order to further define what is meant by Canaan and other regions like *Hittu* (see 231-260) in Egyptian texts. Most recently, Na'aman states, "there is no evidence that the name 'Canaan' in Late Bronze texts ever referred to a sub-district within the Egyptian province in Asia. . . . Canaan was the name for the territory in its entirety." Na'aman 1994: 404; cf. 913: 7-17. This interpretation, he claims, "Canaan refers to the entire region of Palestine. It is best with the textual evidence from Mari, Alalakh, Amarna, Ugarit (Ramsey 1963; 1964), Assur, and Hattusha" (cf. Na'aman 1994).

The distinguishing factor of whether Canaan in the Merneptah Stela is to be understood as a territory or a specific city is the prefix *pr* which indicates the use of the definite article, "The Canaan." Although this prefix occurs here within the context of the hymnic poetic unit, Canaan has often been associated with an entire region of Palestine (Ahlstrom and Edelman 1985; Yon 1986: 190, 1910; Ahlstrom 1991: 1953; Burson 1990; Na'aman 1994; Yon 1986: 90) points out the fact that the Egyptians in the XIXth Dynasty wrote *Gd* for Gaza which indicates that *pr, kn* refers to the region of Canaan and not the city-state Gaza (but see Katzenstein 1982; Redford 1986a: 197; Hoffmeier 1997: 29).

Hiru

Occurrences and Context *Hiru* is the final toponym mentioned in the Merenptah Stela (KRI IV 117). This toponym appears frequently in Egyptian texts and is translated here as — simply *Hiru* (Ahlstrom and Lohman 1983; Bimson 1991; Ahlstrom 1991, 1993; Hasel 1994). 2 *Hiru* representing Syria (Gardiner 1947: 273 note 2; Stein 1982: 163 note 4; Fecht 1983: 120; Hornung 1983: 232) and 3 *Hiru* as representing Syria-Palestine (Yurco 1989: 190; Bimson 1991: 20). In the structural context of the Merenptah Stela *Hiru* has been interpreted as being parallel with — Israel (Fecht 1983: 20; Sager 1983: 1; Bimson 1991; Halpern 1992; Hoffmeier 1997: 45 note 32; 2; Lecheny and Hahn Ahlstrom and Exelmann 1985; Ahlstrom 1989: 190–993) or with Canaan (Yurco 1986: 1990; Raney 1991; Hasel 1994; Na'aman 1994). An essential matter on this issue is the understanding of both *Hiru* and Canaan. What is their relationship? How does the context and description for each contribute to a better understanding of these two terms? Is *Hiru* simply a synonym for Canaan or is it a separate region? If it is separate, where are the corresponding boundaries of both regions? These are questions that require further attention and analysis.

Geographical Extent of *Hiru* Helck (1971: 87) observed that the population of Palestine during the New Kingdom was named *Hiru*, but at the time of Thutmose IV this became a term used for the territory of Syria-Palestine. The geographical borders of this region are provided by Papyrus Anastasi III 119, where a mention is made of an Egyptian governor bearing the title "King's envoy [to the rulers of] the foreign lands of Hurru from Sile to Uzi" (Helck 1953a: 23; note 40). It appears from this designation that the territory of *Hiru* may have encompassed all the Egyptian territory of western Asia in contrast to its possible division in earlier periods into several

The term *Hiru* first appears in Egyptian texts as an ethnic term (Gardiner 1947: 270–8; Helck 1971: 87). Thutmose III refers to *Hiru* together with *shw* (KRI IV 6–10). In this case it appears with the determinative for "man with arms tied around his back" (Gardiner 1947: 273 A.3). Another occurrence of the same on an ostrakon from the village Rekhamre indicates that he had forty men from *Hiru* employed in his service. Here they are represented by the "throw stick" (man + plural) (KRI IV 1173,4). Amenhotep II mentions them in his toponymies together with the *Sine* (KRI IV 1309,2). The last appearance as an ethnic toponym is on a text from the reign of Thutmose IV where it describes a settlement of Hurru near Giza (KRI IV 1506). From this time onward it appears primarily as a territorial designation with the determinative for "his-country" (Helck 1971: 269; 1980a: 87).

districts (Singer 1994: 289; Stolz 1988: 341) notes that since the campaign of Amenhotep II, Canaan and *Hiru* appear as parallel terms. This might suggest that the two designations would be synonymous during the late New Kingdom—cf. Miller and Hayes 1986: 68; Na'aman 1994a: 403; Morrison 1992: 337. The term—ry where Hurrians lived came to be called by the Egyptians *Hiru-land* of Na'aman 1994b; Morrison 1992: 337.

This interpretation is bolstered by a short inscription found in Thutmose IV's temple at Thebes (Pearce 1896, Pl. 17–1) states: "Settlement of the Fortress Menkheperure with Syrians (*Hiru*), which his majesty captured in the city of *K'g' Gezer*" (Lich IV: 56; Breasted 1RE: 2:326; Givon 1969b: 7). Although the text is broken at the end, most translators have translated the toponym as Gezer (Breasted 1RE: 2:326; Wilson 1969a: 248; Malamat 1961: 231; Givon 1969b: 7; cf. Dever 1993d: 496).³ This text seems to state that Hurrians were taken from Gezer and brought as slaves to Egypt (Morrison 1992: 337). The Hebrew Bible makes it clear that Canaanites occupied this city prior to Josh 16:10 and following a settlement period (Judg 1:29). Based on these contexts, it appears that *Hiru* is a region encompassing all Egyptian territory in the southern Levant during the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, including Gezer.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE HYMNIC-POETIC UNIT

With the analysis and definition for each toponym as understood by the Egyptians in their political and geographical settings established, it is now possible to proceed further in examining the structure of the final hymnic-poetic unit of the Merenptah Stela. The past decade has witnessed a tremendous growth in the structural analysis of this unit. In 1983 Fecht published a metrical analysis of the entire stela. More recent analysis has focused on the final unit itself. In 1985 Ahlström and Lohman propose a new interpretation of the designation 'Israel' based on the introduction of a literary device called a 'ring structure'. Their 'ring structure' appears as follows (198: 63):

³ Helck 1971: 269 translated this toponym as Gaza. However, as Wilson 1969a: 248 note 3) pointed out, Gaza was most frequently written as *Gid'ah* with *g* not *k*. Ahlström 1984: 97–101; cf. Malamat 1961: 231 note 39.

The princes are prostrate, saying "Peace!"	A
Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows.	
Desolation is for Teheru, Hatti is pacified,	B
plundered is Canaan with every evil;	C
carried off is Ashkelon;	D
seized upon is Gezer;	D
Yeno'am is made as that which does not exist.	D
Israel is laid waste, his seed is not;	C
Kharu has become a widow because of Egypt.	B
All lands together are pacified:	A
Everyone who was restless has been bound	
by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt,	
Ba-en-Re Men-Amon, the Son of Re	
Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hur-Maat, given life	
like Re every day	

According to this structure, since Hatti is used in a general sense to designate Asia Minor and Syria, and *Hiru* represents the Egyptian colonies in Syria-Palestine, the scribe intended each of these "to represent subregions that together comprised the larger region Syria-Palestine" (Albright and Finkelstein 1957: 40). In the same way, Canaan and Israel are said to represent two subregions which together comprised the narrower area of Cisjordan. The area of Israel specifically denoted the hill country while Canaan represented the adjacent coastal plain and lowland area (ibid.). Albright and Finkelstein further state that "the use of the determinative for people instead of land may be insignificant, resulting from the scribe's loose application of determinatives in connection with names of foreign regions and peoples with which he was not personally familiar" (ibid.: 40). This view is expounded in Albright's book *Who Were the Israelites?* (1962) and in his magnum opus (1963). Finkelstein (1962:

180) and in his magnum opus (1963). Finkelstein (1962:

Albright and Finkelstein's initial structure, however, has not been received without vigorous opposition. Emerton (1988) has shown numerous problems in this proposed "ring structure." For example, A and A' consist of two lines each while the other elements consist of only one line. If these lines were separated, however, the parallel references to peace would no longer correspond. In addition, D is said to correspond to both elements D' and D'. The balance of the hymn is lost, and yet D' does not seem to correspond with D and D' since the meter is lost in a longer sequence. According to Emerton it is not "easy to see why B' Desolation is for Teheru, Hatti is paci-

bed' should correspond in meaning to B 'Kharu has become a widow because of Egypt' rather than to C 'Israel is laid waste, his seed is not'. Furthermore, C could parallel B' just as well as C' (Emerton 1988: 373).

Indeed, in a 1991 publication Ahlstrom modified his 'ring structure' while essentially maintaining his former position that the entity Israel of the Merneptah Stela signifies a territory, though he further emphasized now that the designation Israel represented both a territory and a people (1991: 23). Israel as a people, according to Ahlstrom, referred to those who live within the territory of Israel (1991: 27-28). His modification of the structure appears as follows (1991: 32 note 52):

the Nine Bows and all princes are at peace	A
desolation is for Tehenu (Libya, and Hatti is at peace	B
Canaan is plundered	C
Ashkelon and Gezer are taken	D
Yeno am is made to nothing	D
Israel is laid waste and has no grain	C
Kharu has become with widows	B
All lands are pacified and everyone is bound	A

While a number of problems seem to have been rectified by Ahlstrom's recent modification, various other key difficulties emerge. The problem mentioned above regarding the head-line structure of segment A and A' has been solved by combining both lines into one. Similarly, the broken meter caused by both D' and D'' was solved by combining both Ashkelon and Gezer in one line. Thus D becomes "Ashkelon and Gezer are taken" which corresponds with D' "Yeno am is made to nothing".

Does combining these segments and lines remain faithful to the Egyptian grammar and syntax? What is accomplished by combining these two lines in one? The first lines of the hymn read:

The princes are prostrate, saying "Peace!"
Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows.

Each of these lines is a separate sentence complete with subject, verb, and object. To combine these two lines into one, as Ahlstrom does, does not do justice to the original syntax and structure as well as meaning and context of the hymn. The same holds true for segment A' which originally reads:

All lands together are pacified;
Everyone who was restless has been bound.

Both of these clauses appear to be separate lines in parallel. Ashkelon and Gezer also appear as separate lines in the context of two verbal clauses, "Carried off is Ashkelon, seized upon is Gezer." To combine both of these clauses into one and then to correlate that line with "Yeno'am is made to nothing" is again inconsistent. Why are two city states, Ashkelon and Gezer, placed in parallel with one city-state (Yeno'am)? Finally, the proposed correlation between Canaan and Israel presents a problem. Ahlstrom equates the following lines:

Canaan is plundered
[and later]
Israel is laid waste and has no grain

This correlation is the foundation for the major argument of his theory that Merenptah's Israel stands for a territory. But the latter phrase concerning Israel continues with a second phrase, "its grain is rot." This longer double statement specifies something unique about Israel that is not mentioned in connection with Canaan or other entities. The phrases do not correlate in either content or length.

To further support his theory that Israel represents a territory, Ahlstrom maintains that the phrase "all lands are pacified" refers to all regions including Israel.^{191, 21} However, here again he collapses a parallel couplet which originally was translated as "All lands together are pacified. Everyone who was restless has been born" into one phrase, thereby disregarding proper Egyptian grammar, syntax, and structure.

Thus Ahlstrom's attempt to compensate for previous problems presents too many new questions in regard to his "ring structure" and consequently affects his proposed parallelism between Canaan and Israel.

In 1985 L. E. Stager published yet another structure for the lyrics of Merenptah. Stager's translation and structure read: 1985b: 50*

The princes are prostrate, saying "peace"
Not one is raising his head among the Nine Bows
Now that Tehenu, Libya, has come to ruin
Hatti is pacified
The Canaan has been plundered into every sort of woe
Ashkelon
has been overcome
Gezer has been captured
Yeno'am is made non-existent
Israel is laid waste and his seed is not
Hittu is become a widow because of Egypt

Stager maintained that the name Israel refers to an ethnic people (1983b: 61*): He saw a correspondence between Israel and *Hntw* as parallel clauses. However, Stager shortly thereafter abandoned his structure, accepting the new structure of Yurco (1986: 184).¹

Yurco (1986: 189; 1990: 27) argues that the reference to Israel should be placed along with the city-states as another element within Canaan/*Hntw*, but argues strongly that the name Israel refers to a socioethnic entity (1990: 28). Thus *Hntw* is a synonym of Canaan and the two are in parallel. Yurco's structure, although not going into detail concerning structural elements, reads (1990: 27):

The princes, prostrated, say "Shalom
None raises his head among the Nine Bows
Now that Tehenu has come to ruin, Hatti is pacified
Canaan has been plundered into every sort of war
Ashkelon has been overcome
Gezer has been captured
Yeno'am was made non-existent
Israel is laid waste and his seed is not
Hurru has become a widow because of Egypt
All lands have united themselves in peace
Anyone who was restless, he has been subdued by
the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ra-en-Re-mery-
Amun, son of Re, Mer-en-Ptah Hotep-her-Ma'at,
granted life like Re, daily

The structure of Yurco has met some criticism as well. Binson argues that Yurco based his structure on "prior assumptions concerning the relative standing of the entities named in the toka, and on his belief that Israel is depicted together with the city-states in the acts of Merenptah's campaign at Karnak" (1991: 20 note 1). Binson maintains that it is methodologically preferable to discern the structure of the hymn, and then to make deductions about the relationships between the named entities (1991: 20 note 1). Binson's argument is valid, though it may not affect Yurco's structure significantly.

Binson (1991) most recently suggested a new structure based on the same concept of a "ring structure" although with entirely different conclusions from those proposed by Ahlström and Edelman (1983; Stager 1983b) and Yurco (1990). Binson along with Stager and Yurco, strongly defends the position that Merenptah's Israel

¹ This correlation between *Hntw* and Israel is also followed by Halpern (1992; Ahlström and Edelman 1983: 61; Stager 1983b: 62* note 3) and Yurco (1986: 189 note 1, all credit E. F. Weidie with their proposed structure of the hymn).

refers to a socioethnic entity and not a territory. Bimson's structure reads (1991: 21):

- A The princes are prostrate, saying "Peace!"
 Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows
- B Lying broken is Tehenu;
 Hatti is pacified;
 plundered is Canaan of every evil
 Carried off is Ashkelon,
 seized upon is Gezer
- C Yano'am is made as that which does not exist
 Israel is laid waste,
 his seed is not,
 Hurru is become a widow because of Egypt
- A' All lands together are pacified.
 Everyone who was restless has been bound
 by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt,
 Ba-en-Re-mery-Amun, son of Re,
 Merenptah-hotep-hur-Maat, granted life
 like Re, daily

Without including the pharaonic titles which round off the entire hymn, Bimson suggests that the structure consists of "three tricola framed by two bicola" (1991: 21). He submits that the bicola A, A' refer to subjugated peoples in very general terms, while the three tricola B, C, B' refer to specific entities which have been subdued. The tricola have their own internal structure: B and B' consist of a "short chiasmic bicolon followed by a longer third phrase, and they deal with specific major entities" (1991: 21). The central tricola C refers to the three city-states which according to Bimson are geographically and politically lesser entities. However, instead of the usual chiasmus ab-ba, the bicolon within C consists of straight parallelism ab-ab. Thus, according to Bimson, Ahlstrom and Edelman were wrong to claim that the "ring structure" groups Israel with Canaan. But Bimson does suggest that Israel is clearly grouped among the major geographical and political entities and not with the city-states (contra Stager and Yaron).

Although Bimson attempts to show that Israel is a socioethnic entity and not a territory, certain inconsistencies in his structure can

¹ Bimson's translation is essentially that of Wilson (1969b) with some minor emendations based on those of Williams (1958), Stein (1982), and Weite (apud Stager 1985b).

be discerned. The first of these concerns his placement of Israel with the other major contemporary nations in B and B'. First, with its placement within the structure, Israel could be interpreted as a land/nation/territory, contrary to the conclusions of Binson. The only thing preventing such a designation would be the determinative. Furthermore, the chaotic structure of B differs significantly from B'. In B three specific land/nations are specifically mentioned:

- B Lying broker is Tchemu,
 Hatti is pacified
 plundered is Canaan with every evil

However, in B' only two entities are mentioned:

- B' Israel is laid waste
 his seed is not
 Hurru is become a widow because of Egypt

Binson explains that this mention of Israel in B indicates the importance of Israel over the other powers in B 1991: 22, since it is mentioned alone in comparison with both Tchemu and Hattu. However, the structure itself does not correspond well. Tchemu and Hattu have little to do with Palestine and it would seem strange that Israel should be compared with them or that Israel should be considered more important than both the Luvian and Hittite nations combined. Furthermore, the attempt to place the phrase 'his seed is not' as the second line in the tricolon is not consistent with the rest of the structure. Binson's versification, therefore, does not provide an adequate structure for these final verses.

Having analyzed the various proposals regarding the literary structure of the Victory Hymn of Merneptah, I ventured to propose a new structure, based on the parallelism of political and geographical sequences and terms, which most accurately maintains the integrity of the text (Hasel 1994: 48, Fig. 1; Figure 15).

1. The phrases in A and A' parallel each other, providing a general description in which encloses all the entities mentioned by name in the hymn. Furthermore, it is an *inclusio* which expresses the major

This structure was developed independently. But as it turned out recently, it is much like that of Yuzco (1990) and Rautav (1992).

The 'Nine Bows' is an Egyptian expression that during the New Kingdom encompassed all subjugated enemies of Egypt. Earlier there were literally nine entities existing that threatened those surrounding Egypt on all quarters (Williams 1958: 46; Uphal 1967; Keel 1977; Wildung 1982).

goal of Merenptah's campaign, namely, the "binding" of all enemies Nine Bows.

Binding of enemies	A	The princes are prostrate saying "Peace" Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows
Lands/nations	B	Desolate is Tehenu, Hatti is pacified
Region	C	Canaan has been plundered into every sort of woe Askelon has been overcome Gezer has been seized
City-states	D	Yenoam is made non-existent
People		Israel is laid waste is grain for wheat
Region	C'	Hatti has become a widow
Lands/nations	B'	All lands together they are pacified
Binding of enemies	A'	Everyone who was restless has been bound

FIGURE 15. New proposed structure
Hase 1994: 48, Fig. 1

2) The internal chiastic structure of B-C-D-C' B depicts the or-tails—t now the "binding" of the enemies has taken place and was accomplished. It was accomplished by subduing the various enemy enues which are depicted in the chiasm from the larger to the smaller enemies in the form of B-B' the lands/nations of Tehenu and Hatti, C-C' the region of Canaan/Hatti and D the city-state and people entities.

3) The sequence indicates a progression from those on the edges of Egyptian control with a movement toward those in closer proximity. The nations/lands, Tehenu, Libya and Hatti/Hittite empire are located at western and north-eastern extremes of Egyptian domination at the time while the region Canaan/Hatti together with its city-state and people entities, appears to be its closest enemy to the north-east.

4) The structure of the hymn communicates that the movement of "binding the enemies" is from the more powerful sociopolitical entities to the less powerful ones which are in the center, such as the city-state and people entities.

5) The reason that D, with the less powerful sociopolitical and socioethnic entities, is in the center of the chiasm seems to rest on the

fact that it details military activities within the region of C, that is Canaan/*Hittu*. In other words, the entities of D are located within the region depicted in C-C'. Therefore, D is in the center.

The central section of the structure D, within the region Canaan/*Hittu* is presented in the sequence of major city-states (Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yeno'am) and an socioethnic people (Israel). The importance of the mention of Israel in this context is heightened both by the determinative and by the additional phrase "its grain is not." The latter phrase sets Israel apart from the other entities mentioned in D and provides additional grounds to establish it as an identifiable sociopolitical ethnic entity during the late thirteenth century B.C. Thus the hymnic-poetic unit is structured in the sequence of the general description/or budding of enemies (A), the "pacifying" of lands/nations (B), the plundering of a major region (C), and the subduing of city-state and people entities (D).

Canaan and *Hittu* (C') correspond to each other in the poetic-hymnic structure as a major geographical region which is said to encompass much of Palestine. The clause "Hatti has become a widow because of Egypt" neatly provides a closure for the segment concerning this geographical region. It has become a widow because the listed entities within its area no longer have their previously known existence. D, Israel, therefore, cannot be understood as a parallel statement with *Hittu*. 'Hittu' contra Stager, 1986; Bimson, 1991; Hoffmeier 1997. To the contrary, it appears to be an entity within the region of Canaan/*Hittu*. The latter designations can be viewed in this context as synonymous. Miller and Hayes 1986: 38, cf. Helck 1980a: 82; de Vaux 1978; Schulz 1988: 54. Ahlstrom states, "The plundering of Canaan, the carrying off of Ashkelon, the seizure of Gezer, the making of Yeno'am as nonexistent, and the devastation of Israel so no grain can grow there, are all actions that are summed up as 'Hatti has come to be with widows because of Egypt'" (1991: 3). Ahlstrom is correct with regard to Ashkelon, Gezer, Yeno'am and Israel, but Canaan and *Hittu* correspond and refer to a single region.

6) This is followed by the phrase "All lands together are pacified"

B. The reference to "all lands together" indicates a correlation with the two lands Ichemu and Hattu. B. It is significant that both B and B' end with the word *hnp*, 'pacified' which gives further support to this structural correlation and provides yet an additional aspect of correspondence. It is now possible to point out a terminological *hnp*

"pacified") as well as a geographical correspondence: Canaan/Hittite in this hymnic-poetic unit.

7. This hymnic-poetic unit at the end of the of Merenptah Stela functions as a historical summary of the accomplishments of this victorious pharaoh.

In 1997 Hoffmeier criticized my earlier proposal and suggests yet another possible structure of the final hymnic poetic unit based primarily on grammatical patterns. This insight adds yet another depth to the patterns used by Egyptian scribes and Hoffmeier is correct created with this significant observation. He suggests the following structure: 1997: 28.

Passive <i>sdm.f</i>	Old Perfective
1 (n) captured is Libya	(b) Hatti is pacified
2 plundered is Canaan with every evil	3 Yearian is made into a home for the poor
carried off is Ashkelon	Israel is wasted, its seed is not
captured is Gezer	Hatti is become a widow

The weight of the structure rests on three distinguishable grammatical units. The first is based on the pattern of a passive *sdm.f* + subject, a followed by 1) a subject + old perfective. Hoffmeier proposes that this pericope sets the stage for the following two sections which follow the respective grammatical patterns. Hoffmeier must be commended for his judicious analysis of the Egyptian grammar, but several aspects of his structure remain unresolved.

The important grammatical parallelism suggested stands or falls with its level of grammatical consistency. Hoffmeier admits that the first clause "captured is Libya" poses some ambiguity. The *nt* reads *h'f n thm*. The difficulty lies with the *n* which Hoffmeier states may either be a preposition or the *n* of a *sdm.n.f* form. As he points out, Williams (1958: 136) translated this phrase "Desecration for Tehenu," in which case the *n* is a native (Gardiner 1957: 88-89). Based on a note from H. W. Fairman and on the passive nature of all the verbs in the final hymnic-poetic unit, Hoffmeier concludes that a *sdm.n.f* which is active "makes no sense in this context" (Hoffmeier 1997: 45 note 27). Hoffmeier amends the text by removing the *n*, so that it will fit the grammatical pattern of verbs in the final unit. However, I believe there is a plausible reason why Tehenu is distinguished grammatically from the other toponyms mentioned in this last section of the stela, appearing here with the dative form of the preposition *n*.

The scribe may be setting apart Libya from the following entities mentioned in the southern Levant. The Merneptah Stela is, after all, primarily documenting a campaign against *Libya*. The scribe, in the hymnic-poetic unit at the end of the stela, summarizes this in the single line concerning Tehenu Libya before emphasizing Merneptah's further victory over the Nine Bows or other enemies of Egypt located in the opposite geographical area of Egyptian domination. This would best retain the integrity of the text while acknowledging the larger context of the stela.

There are additional geographical complications to Hoffmeier's proposal. He suggests that Canaan refers to the city of Gaza (see 37-136) and that "the cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Gezer represent a new geographical unit within a limited area of what would later become known as Philistia" (Hoffmeier 1997: 29). The question remains whether in this context Canaan refers to a city-state or to a region. It is important to note in this context that the reliefs on the "Cour de la cachette" at Karnak depict only three cities, one of which is identified as Ashkelon. The other two unnamed cities are presumably Gezer and Yeno'am (Yano 1980: 198; Stolz 1988: 199; Raney 1992). Neither Canaan or *Hm* are depicted as cities. This matches perfectly with the reconstruction of these two entities as regions. Hoffmeier asks, "if Canaan and Hm correspond to each other as Hazel believes, why are toponyms in Canaan numerous while none are detailed for Hm?" (Hoffmeier 1997: 28). The answer has been outlined above. Canaan and *Hm* are to be understood as synonymous terms denoting the geographical region of Palestine (Holek 1983a: 37; Miller and Hayes 1980: 68; Stolz 1988: 4; Morrison 1992: 33; Naveh et al. 1994: 40). Including Gezer (Bassett 1981: 232; Wilson 1986a: 246; Malamat 1987: 23; Geyer 1987: 55; Morrison 1992: 33; cf. Dever 1988: 49). Therefore, Ashkelon, Gezer, Yeno'am, and Israel are all entities within the geographical region of Canaan/*Hm*.

The final weakness to Hoffmeier's structure is that several lines are

I have since modified my understanding of these entities as "two corresponding geographical entities that are to be understood as husband and wife" (Hazel 1994: 51). The husband/wife correlation was added upon the re-consideration in a review of an earlier version of my article (Hazel 1994). Hoffmeier's objection (pointing to) that there is no direct textual support for this I do believe that my same proposed structure stands firm if these are understood as two terms for the same geographical region as I allowed for earlier (Hazel 1994: 56 note 1; cf. Stolz 1988: 4; see 256-260).

not included. The first two clauses in the final hymnic-poetic unit:

The princes are prostrate, saying "Peace." Not one raises his head
among the Nine Bows, are not mentioned. Neither are the last two
included in its structure. All lands together, they are pacified, and
Everyone who was restless has been bound. I have argued that the
lands plural parallel *Iehenu* and *Henu*, the latter being also "pacified" *hpt*. Thus a terminological parallel exists between the two lines
which Hoffmeier does not explain. The last line parallels the Nine
Bows that have been subjugated before the king.

The structure of the hymn suggests that Merenptah's Israel is not
a territory that corresponds to Canaan/Israel, it follows, is also not a
geographical region that would stand next to *Henu*. Instead, Israel is
a socioethnic entity within the region of Canaan/*Henu* in the same
way in which the three city-states are socio-political entities in the
same geographical region. It follows that Israel, identified by the
determinative for people, is a socioethnic entity powerful enough to
be mentioned along with major city-states that were also neutralized
in the southern Levant.

The argument is made by Hoffmeier that the "connection between Israel and
Henu . . . further mitigates against the meaning 'gram' for *pt*," 1997: 28. Stager
1985b: 6.¹⁰ However, as he rightly observes, there is a word play on *Henu* by the
choice of the term *hnt*, "widow" which may be the only reason for the use of *hnt* by
the scribe. In other words, the reason *Henu* has become a widow is not clearly stated.
It could either refer to the cities within Canaan/*Henu* that are despoiled, as I have
suggested, or it may simply be a play of words on the geographical term *Henu*.

WORKS CITED

- Abdel-Kader, M.
1959 The Administration of Syro-Palestine During the New Kingdom. *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 56: 105-137
- Abitz, F.
1981 *König und Gott: Die Göttergötter in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern von Theben*. II. bei Ramses III. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Aharon, Y.
1955 *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Upper Galilee*. Jerusalem: Magnes Hebrew
1963 Tamar and the Roads to Elath. *Israel Exploration Journal* 13: 30-42
1967 *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*. Philadelphia: Westminster
1976 Nothing Early and Nothing Late: Revisiting Israel's Conquest. *Biblical Archaeologist* 39: 55-76
1979 *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*. Revised and Enlarged ed. Philadelphia: Fortress
- Aharon, Y., and Avi-Yonah, M.
1968 *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*. New York: Macmillan
- Aharon, Y., Yadin, Y., and Shiloh, Y.
1993 Megiddo. Pp. 903-121 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster
- Ahituv, S.
1982 Did Ramesses II Conquer Dilmun? *Israel Exploration Journal* 32: 41-42
1988 Economic Factors in the Egyptian Conquest of Canaan. *Israel Exploration Journal* 38: 93-100
1989 *Canaanite Epitaphs in Ancient Egyptian Documents*. Jerusalem: Magnes
1996 Sources for the Egyptian-Canaanite Border: Aminoisation in an Egyptian *Journal* 46: 219-224
- Albright, G. W.
1952 Where Did the Israelites Live? *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 11: 193-198
1955 Lachish: Still a Problem. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 117: 97-99
1956 *Who Were the Israelites?* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns
1991 The Origin of Israel in Palestine. *Nordamerikanisches Journal der Theologie* 2: 19-34
1993 *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Patriarchal Period to Alexander's Conquest*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series 146. Sheffield: JSOT
- Albright, G. W., and Finkelstein, D.
1985 Merneptah's Israel. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44: 59-61
- Akkermann, P. M. M. G., and Rossmann, J.
1990 Excavations at Tell Sabi Abyad, Northern Syria: A Regional Centre on the Assyrian Frontier. *Israelica* 36: 13-60
- Albertz, R.
1981 [Israel]. In *Altes Testament*. Pp. 368-379 in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* vol. 16. Berlin: de Gruyter
- Albrektson, B.
1957 *History and the Gods: An Essay on the Idea of Historical Events as Divine Manifestations in the Ancient Near East*. Lund: Gleerup

A. A. A. A. A.

- 1923 Contributions to the Historical Geography of Palestine. *Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 2-3: 1-46
- 1925 Bronze Age Monuments of Northern Palestine and Hauran. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 19: 5-19
- 1926 The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age. *Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 6: 13-74
- 1929a New Inscriptions and Pre-Israelite Sites. The Spring Trip of 1929. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 35: 1-14
- 1929b Progress in Palestinian Archaeology During the Year 1928. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 33: 1-10
- 1932 An Anthropoid Clay Coffin from Sahab in Transjordan. *American Journal of Archaeology* 36: 293-306
- 1933 *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*. Revised ed. New York: Revell.
- 1934a *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*. American Oriental Series 3. New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society.
- 1934b Soundings at Ader, A Bronze Age City in Moab. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 53: 13-18
- 1935 Archaeology and the Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 58: 1-18
- 1936 The Chronology of a South-Palestinian City. *Israel Exploration Journal*. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 55: 337-351
- 1939 The Hebrew Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 74: 11-23
- 1942 A Short Revision of the Early Chronology of Western Asia. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 88: 28-36
- 1943 An Archaic Hebrew Proverb in an Aramaic Letter from Central Palestine. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 89: 29-32
- 1949 *The Archaeology of Palestine*. Baltimore: Penguin.
- 1952 The Smaller Beth-Shan Silex of Section I. 1949. *ASOR B.C.*. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 125: 24-32
- 1953a New Light from Excavation on the Chronology and History of Israel and Judah. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 130: 4-11
- 1953b The Traditional Home of the Syrian Daniel. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 130: 26-27
- 1956 Abram the Hebrew: A New Archaeological Interpretation. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 135: 36-44
- 1956a The Aramaic Letters from Palestine. Pp. 98-106. *The Cambridge Ancient History* vol. 2, part 2, ed. I. F. S. Edwards, C. J. Girdle, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- 1956b Syria, the Philistines and Phoenicia. Pp. 107-115. *The Cambridge Ancient History* vol. 2, part 2, ed. I. F. S. Edwards, C. J. Girdle, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- 1971 *The Archaeology of Palestine*. 2nd ed. London: Pelican.
- A. A. A. A. A. W. F. and K. K. J.
1968 *The Excavation of Bethel (1934-1960)*. *Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 39. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- A. A. A. A. A. W. F. and Rowe, A.
1978 A Royal Seal of the New Empire from Giza. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 14: 281-287.

Aldred, C.

- 1951 *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1580 to 1350 B.C.* London: Tiran.

1971 *Jewels of the Pharaohs.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Alt, A.

1916 Das Institut im Jahre 1925 *Palästina Jahrbuch* 22: 5-80.

1928 Das Institut im Jahre 1927 *Palästina Jahrbuch* 24: 5-74.

1932 Zur Topographie der Seelach bei Kaes. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 55: 1-25.

1933 Zur Topographie der Seelach bei Kaes. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 66: 1-10.

1933a Emmer und Moabit. Pp. 203-215 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 1. Munich: Beck.

1933b Ägyptische Tempel in Palästina und die Landnahme der Philister. Pp. 216-230 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 1. Munich: Beck.

1933c Zur Geschichte von Beth-Sean, 1500-1000 v. Chr. Pp. 146-155 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 1. Munich: Beck.

1933d Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina. Pp. 88-125 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 1. Munich: Beck.

1933e Die Stützpunktsystem der Philistiner an der Philistinenküste und im Syrischen Binnenland. Pp. 107-119 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 3. Munich: Beck.

1933b Historische Geographie und Topographie des Nege. III Samaria. Zoagli, Hormia, Gerat. Pp. 409-435 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 3. Munich: Beck.

1934 The Semitic and Arabic Language in Palestine. Pp. 75-22 in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Alter, R.

1981 *The Art of Biblical Poetry.* New York: Basic.

Amiran, R.

1933 Kierbet Tell el-R. wassa in the Upper Golan. *Israel Exploration Journal* 3: 126-129. Hebrew.

1969 *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land.* Jerusalem: Maamad.

Anati, E.

1970 Excavations at the Cemetery of Tell Abu Hawam (1952). *Atiqot* 39: 62.

1963 Notes and News. Tell Abu Hawam. *Israel Exploration Journal* 13: 1-11.

1975 Tell Abu Hawam. Pp. 6-12 in *The Encyclopedia of Archaeology in Palestine in the Holy Land*, vol. 1, ed. M. Avi-Yonah. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Apter, D. I.

1964 Ideology and Discontent. Pp. 1-17 in *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. D. I. Apter. London: Free.

Arrauel, D.

1984 La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat ottoman: l'administration d'après trois lettres inédites. *Asia Orientalis* 2: 179-188.

1978 Les Hautes sur le Moyen-Euphrate: protecteurs et alligés. *Revue de l'Asie* 8: 9-12.

Arnold, D., ed.

1981 *Studies zur altägyptischen Keramik.* Mainz: von Zabern.

Arzy, M.

- 984 Unusual Late Bronze Age Ship Representations from Tel Akko. *Marian's Studies* 70: 59-64.
- 985 Merchant and Merchants: On Ships and Shipping in the Late Bronze Age in the Levant. Pp. 135-140 in *Proceedings of the 11th International Congress for Cypriot Studies*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities of Cyprus.
- 987 On Boats and Sea Peoples. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 260: 75-84.
- 988 Development of War-Fighting Boat of the Hittite Middle Bronze C in the Eastern Mediterranean. Pp. 181-200 in *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus, 1988 (Part I)*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities of Cyprus.
- 989 North Land and Sea Peoples. 1989-1988. *Israel Exploration Journal* 39: 72-73.
- 991 *Lebanon: Commerce and Cultural Relations Between Desert Trade Routes and Maritime Routes of the Second Millennium*. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 13/2: 205-217.
- 996 Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel. Hecht Museum, University of Haifa, June.
- 997 Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel. Letter November 9, 1997.
- 998 Routes, Trade, Boats and "Nomads of the Sea." Pp. 439-448 in *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition, Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries B.C. In Honor of Trade Doherty*, ed. S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Assmann, J.

- 1975 *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*. Munich: Artemis.
- 1985 *Paradise and Mythology*. Pp. 389-403. *Leben der Ägyptologie* Vol. 4, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1983-84 Krieg und Eroberung in der Ägypten-Romane II und die Schlacht bei Kadesch. *Münchener Forum* 83/84: 1-12.
- 1990 *Maat, Cosmology and Utopianism in Late Egypt*. Munich: Beck.
- 1994 Maat and the Cosmological World of Egypt: A Study in Pre-Christian and Ancient Mythology. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 140: 93-113.

Astour, M. C.

- 1977 *Yamweh in Egyptian Topographical Lists*. Pp. 7-33 in *Festschrift E. Edel*, ed. M. Görg and E. Puch. Bamberg: Görg.
- 1996 Some Unrecognized North Syrian Toponyms in Egyptian Sources. Pp. 213-241 in *Go to the Land that I Will Show You: Studies in Honor of Douglas M. Young*, ed. J. E. Coleson and V. H. Matthews. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Aström, P. ed.

- 1987 *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium of Absolute Chronology held at the University of Gothenburg, 1986, 24 August, 1987, Paris, and 2, 1989, Part 2*. Gothenburg: Aström.

Axelsson, L. E.

- 18 *The Lord Rose I from Sea: Studies in the History and Tradition of the Age and Youth of the Conqueror of the Old Testament*. Series 25. Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Badawy, A.

- 1961 *Architecture in Ancient Egypt and the Near East*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- 1968 *A History of Egyptian Architecture: The Empire (The New Kingdom)*. Berkeley: University of California.

- .977 Festungsanlage. Pp. 194-203 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Baines, J.
 .983 Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society. *Man* 18: 572-599.
 .995a Knowledge, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation. Pp. 3-47 in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship: Probleme der Ägyptologie* 9, ed. D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman. Leiden: Brill.
 .995b Palace and Temples in Ancient Egypt. Pp. 303-317 in *Customs of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 1, ed. J. M. Saron. New York: Simon and Schuster Macmillan.
- Baines, J. and Eyre, C. J.
 .983 Four Notes on Literacy. *Göttingen Miscellen* 61: 65-96.
- Bakry, H. S. K.
 1944-74 The Discovery of a Temple of Meretseph at Gh. *Aegyptus* 63: 8-21.
- Balensi, J.
 1985 Revising Tell Abu Hawam. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 25: 42-44.
- Balensi, J., and Herrera, M. D.
 1984 Tell Abu Hawam, 1983-1984. *Rapport Préliminaire—Revue Bibliographique* 92: 82-20.
- Balensi, J., Herrera, M. D., Arzy, M.
 1993 Abu Hawam. Tell. Pp. 7-14 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Bar-Yosef, O., and Khazanov, A. eds.
 1992 *Feudalism in the Levant: Archaeological Materials in Anthropological Perspectives*. Monographs in World Archaeology 10. Madison: Prehistory.
- Bar-Yosef, O., and Phillips, J., eds.
 1977 *Prehistoric Investigation in Gebel Muharik, Qana, Jordan*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University.
- Barley, G.
 1980 A Late Bronze Age Egyptian Temple in Jerusalem? *Exc. Jour* 2: 86-96. Hebrew.
 1986 A Late Bronze Age Egyptian Temple in Jerusalem? *Israel Exploration Journal* 46: 23-45.
- Barnett, R. D.
 1971 The Sea Peoples. Pp. 379-388 in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed., vol. 2, part 2, ed. I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
 1975 *A Chronology of the Iron Age in the Levant*. London: British Museum.
 1982 *Ancient Iron in the Middle East*. Qadish 4. Jerusalem: Hebrew University.
 1985 Lachish, Ashkelon, and the Camel. A Discussion of its Use in Southern Palestine. Pp. 17-46 in *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Age: Papers in Honour of Olga Tufnell*, ed. J. N. Tubb. London: Institute of Archaeology.
- Baron, A. G.
 1988 *The Ghazal Survey: Issues and Problems in the Archaeology of the Negev*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California, Riverside.
 1989 Adaptive Strategies in the Archaeology of the Negev. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 242: 5-31.
 1983 Reply to Beno Rothenberg. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 25: 70-71.

- Barta, W.
 1971 *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 32. Munch. Deutscher Kunstverlag.
 1980 *Legitimation*. Pp. 416-434 in *Lexicon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bartel, B.
 1985 *Comparative Historical Archaeology and Archaeological Theory*. Pp. 8-34 in *Comparative Studies in the Archaeology of Colonialism*, ed. S. L. Dyson. BAR International Series 233. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
 1989 *Acculturation and Ethnicity in Roman Macedonia*. Pp. 73-81 in *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology*, ed. J. C. Champion. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Barth, F.
 1964 *Nomads of South Persia*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Barthes, R.
 1971 *La Plaine du Taurus*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Bart, K.
 1980 *Khirbet esh Shiref: A Late Bronze Age Settlement in the Bakkh Valley, Northern Syria*. *Atti della* 67: 10-32.
- Bartlett, J. R.
 1973 *The Moabites and Edomites*. Pp. 249-258 in *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon.
 1982 *Jericho*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
 1989 *Edom and the Edomites*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 77. Sheffield: JSOT.
 1992 *Edom: Edom in History*. Pp. 287-297 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Bass, L., and Artzy, M.
 1986 *Shap Graffiti at Kition*. Pp. 322-327 in *Excavations at Kition V: The Pre-Phoenician Levels, Part I*, ed. V. Karageorghis and M. Dornau. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities of Cyprus.
- Bates, D. G.
 1973 *Nomads and Farmers: A Study of the Taurus of Southeast Turkey*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Baumgart, W.
 1982 *Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion, 1890-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Baumgarten, J. J.
 1992 *Urbanization in the Late Bronze Age*. Pp. 143-150 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Bea, R. H.
 1992 *The Organization of the Hittite Military*. Texte der Hethiter 20. Heidelberg: Winter.
 1995 *Hittite Military Organization*. Pp. 515-554 in *Contributions of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 1, ed. J. M. Sasson. New York: Simon and Schuster/Macmillan.
- Beck, P., and Kochavi, M.
 1985 *A Dated Assemblage of the Late 13th Century B.C.E. from the Egyptian Residency at Aphik*. *Tel Aviv* 12: 28-42.
 1993 *Aphik*. Pp. 64-72 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Beckerath, J. von

- 1951 *Tanis und Theben. Historische Grundlagen der Ramesidenzeit in Ägypten. Ägyptologische Forschungen 1*. Göttingen: Augustin.
- 1967 *Methode und Ergebnisse ägyptischer Chronologie. Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 72: 1-14.
- 1970 *Atlas der Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*. Munich: Oldenbourg.
- 1971a *Geschichtliche Erzählung*. Pp. 359-360 in *Leitikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1971b *Geschichtliche Erzählung*. Pp. 360-361 in *Leitikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Behnke, R. H., Jr.

- 1980 *The Herders of Cyrenaica. Ecology, Economy, and Kinship among the Bedouin of Eastern Libya*. Ph.D. thesis, Studies in Anthropology 13. University of Illinois.

Ben-Arabi, I.

- 1981 *Fifteen Years in the Sinai. Biblical Archaeology Review* 10/4: 26-48.
- 1983a *Further Burials from the Deir el-Balah Cemetery. Tel Aviv* 12: 49-53.
- 1983b *Serafini's Knephth. New Metallurgical and Chronological Aspects. Levant* 13: 89-111.
- 1991 *The Edomites in Cisjordan*. Pp. 33-40 in *You Shall not Abhor an Edomite for He is Your Brother. Edom and Sex in History and Tradition*. Archaeology and Biblical Studies 3, ed. D. V. Edelman. Atlanta: Scholars.

Ben-Arabi, S.

- 1978 *A Tomb of the Late Bronze Age at Tel Gedor. Qadmonot* 11: 60-61. Hebrew.
- 1992 *Tel Gedor*. Pp. 408-411 *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Ben-Arabi, S., Ben-Tor, D., Gorenstein, S.

- 1993 *A Late Bronze Age Burial Cave at Qibiacel, Near Tel Lulim. Atiqot* 13: 1-10.

Ben-Dor, I.

- 1981 *Prehistoric-Mahabon Vases. Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 93: 112.

Ben-Tor, A.

- 1983a *Hazor. Fifth Season of Excavations, 1983-1984*. Pp. 403-444 *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 1983b *Tel Qashub*. Pp. 1200-1203 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 1993a *Jokneam*. Pp. 80-81 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 1993a *Notes and News: Tel Hazor*. 1993 *Israel Exploration Journal* 43: 65-68.
- 1993b *Tel Hazor - 1992/1993. Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 14: 9-13.
- 1993c *Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June*.
- 1993d *The Royal Palace at Hazor. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 24 - 29*.
- 1997 *Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel, Letter, November 4, 1997*.
- 1998 *The Fall of Canaanite Hazor: The Who and When Questions*. Pp. 456-467 in *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE. In Honor of Trude Dothan*, ed. S. Ginn, A. Mazar, and E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

- Ben-Tor, A. et al., ed.
 1989 *Hazor III-IV, An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957-1958*. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- Ben-Tor, A., and Boufil, R., eds.
 1997 *Hazor V, An Account of the Fifth Season of Excavation, 1968*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Ben-Tor, D.
 1989 *The Scarab: A Reflection of Ancient Egypt*. Jerusalem: Israel Museum.
- Bennett, C.
 1979 Excavations at the Citadel at-Qal'at Amman, Jordan. *Annals of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 9: 161-177.
- Berlin, A.
 1992 Parallelism. Pp. 155-162 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Blaich, R. S.
 1984 Scarabaeidae. Pp. 881-982 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 5, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bienkowski, P.
 1986 *Jericho in the Late Bronze Age*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
 1987 The Role of Hazor in the Late Bronze Age. *Paestum Expedition Quarterly* 119: 30-6.
 1989 Prosperity and Decline in LBA Canaan: A Reply to Jacobson et al. K. App. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 52: 1-12.
 1995 Observations on Late Bronze-Iron Age Sites in the Wadi Hama, Jordan. *Livnat* 29: 1-13.
 1996 The British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History Research Grants 1995-6. *Livnat* 28: 113-125.
- Bienkowski, P., ed.
 1982 *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*. Sheffield: Archaeological Monographs 7. Sheffield: Collins.
- Bienkowski, P., Adams, R., Flannery, R. A., and Sedman, J.
 1988 Excavations at Ash-Shorabat and Khirbet Dubab in the Wadi Hama, Jordan: The Stratigraphy. *Livnat* 29: 40-1.
- Birchler, M. L.
 1972 The Length of the Reign of Sesostris I. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58: 30-3.
 1973 *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt c. 1300-664 B.C. A Chronological and Chronological Investigation*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
 1978 The Date of the Destruction of Israel and Egyptian Chronology. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 64: 110-115.
- Birkak, M.
 1980 Horuswege. Pp. 62-64 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1992 An Iron Age Four-Room House at Ramesside Egypt. *Israel Exploration Society* 3: 109-129.
- Bimson, J. J.
 1978 *Revising the Exodus and the Conquest*. Sheffield: Almond.
 1989 The Origins of Israel in Canaan: An Examination of Recent Theories. *Thémis* 15: 4-15.
 1991 Mesopotamian Israel and Recent Theories of Israelite Origins. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 49: 3-29.
- Birdall, J., ed.
 1999 *The Amman School and Archaeology*. London: Leicester University.

- Biran, A.
 1980 Tell Dan—Five Years Later. *Biblical Archaeologist* 43: 168-182.
 1989 The Collared-rim Jars and the Settlement of the Tribe of Dan. *Recent Excavations in Israel. Studies in Iron Age Archaeology, Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 49, ed. W. G. Dever and S. Gitin. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
 1993a Dan. Pp. 313-317 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
 1993b Te. Zippor. Pp. 520-527 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
 1994 *Biblical Dan*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
 Biran, A., and Naveh, J.
 1994 An Aramaic Stone Fragment from Tel Dan. *Israel Exploration Journal* 43: 81-98.
 Björkman, G.
 1964 Egyptology and Historical Method. *Orientalia Suecana* 13: 9-33.
 Bleiberg, F.
 1981 Commodity Exchange in the Annals of Thutmose III. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 11: 107-110.
 1982a *Aspects of the Political, Religious, and Economic Basis of Egyptian Imperialism During the New Kingdom*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Toronto, Toronto.
 1982b The King's Privy Purse During the New Kingdom: an Examination of INW. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 21: 155-167.
 1985-86 Historical Texts as Political Propaganda During the New Kingdom. *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 7: 3-13.
 1988 The Redistributive Economy in New Kingdom Egypt: An Examination of *Bikerna*. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27: 157-168.
 Bleiberg, F.
 1989 Five Ways to Conquer a City. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16: 3-37-44.
 Bliss, F. J.
 1898 *A Mound of Many Cities*. London: Warr and Son.
 Bloch-Smith, I.
 1992 *Judaean Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 23. Sheffield: SOTJ.
 Blumenthal, F.
 1977a Expeditionenscheite. Pp. 59-61 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1977b Expeditionenschriften. Pp. 61-62 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1978 Zur Chronologie des regierenden Königs in Ägypten. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 73: 534-543.
 1987 Ägyptologie und Textkritik. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 88: 230-239.
 Bouffé, R.
 1967 Area A. Pp. 151-6 in Hager, I. *An Account of the Fifth Season of Excavation 1968*, ed. A. Ben Tor and R. Bouffé. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
 Bonnet, H.
 1926 *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
 Bochs, W.
 1984 Weitere Bemerkungen zu den sogenannten Tributen. *Göttinger Miscellen* 71: 61-66.

- Boorn, G. P. F. van den
1988 *The Duties of the Viceroy: Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*. New York: Kegan Paul
- Borée, W.
1930 *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas. Ergänzt mit Namenregister und Nachträge*. Leipzig: Pfeiffer
- Borger, R.
1974-77 Textdruckes zur Prisma-Inscribt Tiglarpalesses I. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 25: 161-165
1979 *Babylonisch-Aramäische Lesestücke*. 2nd ed., vol. 2. Analecta Orientalia 54. Rome: Pontificium institutum biblicum
1984 Historische Texte in akkadischer Sprache aus Babylonien und Assyrien. Pp. 3-167 in *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Historisch-linguistische Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* 4/1, ed. O. Kaiser. Gütersloh: Mohr
- Borowski, O.
1987 *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns
- Bourke, S.
1993 The Transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age in Syria: The Evidence from Tell Nebi Mend. *Levant* 25: 155-195
1994 Report on the Sixteenth (1991) Season of Excavations at Pella. *Tahqaqat Fahl* by the University of Sydney. *Oriental Express* 1994/3: 65-67
1997 Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel. Letter, November 28, 1997
- Bourke, S. J., Sparke, R. T., Sowada, K. N., and Maas, D. I.
1994 Preliminary Report on the University of Sydney's Fourteenth Season of Excavations at Pella (Tahqaqat Fahl) in 1992. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 38: 81-126
- Bourriau, J.
1981 *Umm el-Qa'ab. Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest*. Cambridge: Cambridge University
1990 Canaanite Jars from New Kingdom Deposits at Memphis. *Kom Rabia. Égypte* 21: 18-26
- Bourriau, J., and Millard, A.
1971 The Excavation of Sawāma in 1914 by G. A. Wainwright and T. Whittemore. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 57: 28-57
- Bowman, J., Isserlin, B. S. J., and Rowe, K. R.
1955 The University of Leeds, Department of Semitics Archaeological Expedition to Jaffa 1952. *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 7: 23-36
- Brandl, B.
1982 The Tel Maseh Scarab: A Suggestion for a New Method for the Interpretation of Royal Scarabs. *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 28: 371-405
1993 Scarabs, A Scaraboid and a Scarab Impression from Area vi. 468-970. *Ashdod V. Excavation of Area G: The Fourth-Sixth Seasons of Excavations, 1968-1970*. Atiqot 3. M. Dothan and Y. Porath. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority
- Braun, D. P.
1991 Selection and Extraction in Nonhierarchical Organization. Pp. 62-80 in *The Evolution of Political Systems*, ed. S. Upham. Cambridge: Cambridge University

Breasted, J. H.

- 1897 *The Israel Tablet. The Babylon House* 9: 62-68.
 1903 *The Battle of Kadesh. A Study in the Earliest Ancient Military Strategy*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
 1906 *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents, I to 4*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
 1912 *A History of Egypt*. New York: Scribner's.
 1913a The Age of Ramses II. Pp. 13-14 in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1st ed., vol. 3, ed. J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
 1913b The Decline and Fall of the Egyptian Empire. Pp. 14-19 in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1st ed., vol. 2, ed. J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Brackett, C. H. W.

- 1954 Exodus XVIII and the Origins of Yahwism in Israel. *Untersuchungen zum Alten Testament* 10: 215-224.

Brenches, B.

- 1986 Kriegswesen im alten Orient. *Das Altertum* 32: 134-142.

Bresciani, A.

- 1969 *Literatura e poesia dell'antico Egitto*. Torino: G. Einaudi.

Bright, J.

- 1972 *A History of Israel*, 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Westminster.
 1981 *A History of Israel*, 3rd ed. Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox.

Brinkman, J. A.

- 1930 Notes on Mesopotamian History in the Nineteenth Century B.C. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 2: 49-64.

Brinks, J.

- 1905 Pp. 100-101 in *Leçons de Agéptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and F. Otto Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Brinkman, J. A.

- 1930 An Artistic Interpretation of Seti I's War Reliefs. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2: 61-64.
 1932 Religion & Cosmology at Qadesh and the Consequences for the Artistic Depiction of the Battle. Pp. 11-12 in *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. G. Thompson*. Egyptian Exploration Society Occasional Papers 8, ed. A. B. Lloyd. London: Egyptian Exploration Society.

Brinnet, H.

- 1901a Literatur. Pp. 100-101 in *Leçons de Agéptologie*, vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1980b Machtbegriff. Pp. 1120-1123 in *Leçons de Agéptologie*, vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1982 Metrik. Pp. 120-122 in *Leçons de Agéptologie*, vol. 4, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Brusch, W.

- 1990 P. Hamburg D 51. Liste über die Ausgabe von Sauggut, ro., und Quittierung der Ernteabgabe (sic). *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 117: 11-10.

Brunton, G., and Engelbach, R.

- 1927 *Gosh.* London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

Bruce, I. R.

- 1986 The Boundaries of Hatti and the Hittite Border Policy. *Tal Am* 13: 85-102.

- Budge, E. A. W.
 902 *A History of Egypt*. New York: Frowde
- Budge, E. A. W. and King, L. W.
 902 *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, vol. 1. London: Harrison
- Buhl, F.
 893 *Geschichte der Edomiter*. Leipzig: Edelmann
- Buhl, M.-L. and Houm-Nielsen, S.
 969 *Shitoh*. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark
- Bull, I.
 955 *Ancient Egypt*. Pp. 3-34 in *Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, ed. R. C. Denton. New Haven: Yale University
- Burrows, S.
 983 Glacis 10014 and Gezer's Late Bronze Age Fortifications. *Tel Aviv* 61-70
 988-89 An Egyptian "Governor's Residency" at Gezer? Another Suggestion. *Tel Aviv* 15-16: 68-70
 990 Pre-Nomadic in the Ethos: Identification of the Philistine Material Culture. *Tel Aviv* 17: 210-222
 1003 The Study of Complex Societies: The Material Culture of Late Bronze Age Canaan as a Case Study. Pp. 143-172 in *Biblical Archaeology Today 1978: Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June 1978*, ed. A. Biran and J. Aviram. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society
 1004 Social-Political Transformations in the Central Hill Country in the Late Bronze-Iron I Transition. Pp. 179-202 in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, ed. I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society
 1005 On the Edge of Empire: Late Bronze Age (1000-1200 BC). Pp. 329-331 in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. Levy. Leicester: Leicester University
- Burrows, S. and Lederman, Z.
 993 Beth Shimon. Pp. 136-143. *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeology Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster
- Burrows, S. and Zimhoni, O.
 995 Lapid and Bow: Foundation Deposits in Canaan. *Israel Exploration Society* 43: 99-125
- Burkhardt, M.
 1009 *Die altägyptischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im ägyptischen*. Leipzig: Hinrichs
- Burkhardt, J. L.
 1822 *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*. London: Murray
- Burkard, G.
 1983 Der formale Aufbau altägyptischer Literaturwerke. Zur Problematik der Erschließung seiner Grundstrukturen. *Studien des Ägyptischen Instituts* 10: 79-118
- Cahill, J., and Tarler, D.
 993 Tell el-Hammah. Pp. 561-562 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeology Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster
- Cahill, J., Lipovich, G., and Tarler, D.
 987 News and News: Tell el-Hammah 1985-1987. *Israel Exploration Journal* 3: 280-284
 987-88 Tell el-Hammah—1987. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 6: 58-60

- Callaway, J. A.
 1970 The 1968-1969 Amiet Tell Excavations. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 198: 7-31.
 1975 Excavating Amiet Tell 1961-1967. *Biblical Archaeologist* 39: 18-30.
 1993 Amiet Pp. 39-115 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. 1, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Callaway, J. A., and Cooley, R. B.
 1971 A Salvage Excavation at Radclana, in Birch. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 201: 9-14.
- Camino, R. A.
 1974 *Late Egyptian Miscellany*. Brown Egyptological Studies 1. London: Oxford University.
- Caneiro, R.
 1970 A Theory of the Origin of the State. *Science* 169: 1187-1192.
- Casperon, L. W.
 1988 The Lunar Date of Ramesses II. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 47: 81-104.
- Catling, H. W.
 1936 Bronze Cut-and-Thrust Swords in the Eastern Mediterranean. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 2: 1-10.
 1968 Late Minoan Vases and Bronzes in Oxford. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 63: 89-113.
- Caubet, A.
 1972 Reoccupation of the Syrian Coast After the Destruction of the Tarsis Years. Pp. 23-113 in *The Crisis Years: The 12th century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky. Durham: IA Kennell Hunt.
- Cerný, J.
 1939 *Late Ramesside Letters*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 9. Brussels: Édition de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elizabeth.
 1958 Stela of Ramesses II from Benani. *Étude Égyptologique* 2: 83-90.
 1969 *Amarna: Stela of Amenophis II and Inscription of Merneptah*. Cairo: Centre of Documentation on Ancient Egypt.
- Cerný, J., and Groll, S. I.
 1984 *A Late Egyptian Grammar*. 3rd updated ed. Rome: Bibras Institute.
- Chambers, A.
 1993 Tamaris-Falun North. Pp. 439-446 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Champion, T. C., ed.
 1989 *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Champion, T. C.
 1989 Introduction. Pp. 1-21 in *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology*, ed. T. C. Champion. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Chaney, M. L.
 1983 Ancient Palestinian Peasant Movements and the Formation of Pre-monarchic Israel. Pp. 99-90 in *Palestine in Transition: The Emergence of Ancient Israel*, ed. D. N. Freedman and D. F. Graf. Sheffield: Almond.
- Chang, C., and Koster, H. A.
 1986 Beyond Bones. Toward an Archaeology of Pastoralism. *Advances in Archaeological Methods and Theory* 9: 9-48.

- Chavane, M.-J.
 1987 Instruments de bronze. Pp. 3-7 in *Ras Shamra—Ougarit. III Le Centre de la ville 38-44 Campagnes 1978-1984*, ed. M. Yon et al. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- Christophe, L.-A.
 1957 L'Organisation de l'armée égyptienne à l'époque Ramesside. *La Revue du Caire* 39: 387-413.
- Cidola, B.
 1988 Ramses III and the Sea Peoples: A Structural Analysis of the Medinet Habu Inscriptions. *Orientalia* 57: 275-306.
 199 The Terminology in Ramses III's Historical Records With a Formal Analysis of the War Scenes. *Orientalia* 60: 4-7.
 1994 The Role of the Sea Peoples at the End of the Late Bronze Age: A Reassessment of Textual and Archaeological Evidence. *Orientalis Antiqua Mus Altona* 1: 1-23.
- Clamer, C.
 1971 *The Late Bronze Age Amarna Letters*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
 1980 A Gold Plaque from Tel Lachish. *Tel Aviv* 7: 1-102.
 1988 Amarna Vessels. Pp. 89-111 in *Israel in the Field of Canaan*, ed. J. D. Seger and H. D. Lance. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College/Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
- Carter, C., and Ussishkin, D.
 1977 A Canaanite Temple at Tell Lachish. *Biblical Archaeologist* 40: 7-71.
- Clarke, S.
 1913 Ancient Egyptian Fortified Fortresses. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3: 155-174.
- Cluss, H.
 1907 Die Städte der El-Amarna-Tafel und die Heli. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Orientalischen Vereins* 30: 1-79.
- Cowen, G. S. L.
 1952 *Sailing Ships: Their History and Development*. 4th ed. London: Stationery Office.
- Cohen, Ralph.
 1986 History and Genre. *New Literary History* 17: 203-218.
- Cohen, Rudolph.
 1981 *The Settlement in the Central Negev in the Light of Archaeology and Literary Source During the 4th-11th Centuries B.C.E.* Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
- Cohen, R., and Dever, W. G.
 1978 Preliminary Report of the Pilot Season of the "Central Negev Highlands Project." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 237: 29-41.
 1979 Preliminary Report of the Second Season of the "Central Negev Highlands Project." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 40: 4-300.
 1981 Preliminary Report of the Third and Final Season of the "Central Negev Highlands Project." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 243: 3-7.
- Cohen, R., and Schmitt, G.
 1989 *Drei Studien zur Archäologie und Topographie Altmari's*. Beiträge zum Tabinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 44. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Conder, C. R.
 1881 Lieutenant Conder's Reports. *Palatine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 163-170.

- Conder, C. R., and Kitchen, H. H.
1882 *Survey of Western Palestine*. London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
- Conrad, G. W., and Demarest, A. A.
1983 *Region and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Cooley, R. E.
1975 Four seasons of Excavations at Khirbet Raddana. *Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin* 1:2.
- Coote, R. B.
1990 *Early Israel: A New Horizon*. Minneapolis: Fortress.
1991 Early Israel. *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 2: 33-46.
- Coote, R. B., and Whitlam, K. W.
1987 *The Emergence of Early Israel in Historical Perspective: The Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series 5*. Sheffield: Almon.
- Cornelius, J.
1995 The Iconography of Divine War in the Pre-Islamic Near East: A Survey. *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 1: 1-30.
- Courton, J.
1975 Sur divers groupes de vases mycéniens en Méditerranée Orientale. Pp. 137-163 in *Mycenians in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium, The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities of Cyprus.
- Cowen, J. D.
1977 Eine Einführung in die Geschichte der bronzezeitlichen Land- und gewerblichen Produktion in Süddeutschland und der angrenzenden Gebieten. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 36: 52.
1981 The Hoaghe-Hilted Cutting Sword of Bronze: Was it First Developed in Central Europe or in the Aegean Area? Pp. 207-214 in *Beiträge über den 1. Internationalen Kongress der vord. und frühgeschichtl. Berlin*.
- Craigie, P. C.
1979 The Problem of Parallel Word Pairs in Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetry. *Semitic* 18: 18.
- Cribb, R.
1991 *Nomads in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Crowfoot, J. W.
1934 An Expedition to Balu'a. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 76-84.
- Crowfoot, J. W., Crowfoot, G. M., and Kenyon, K. M.
1937 *The Objects from Samaria*. London: Palestine Exploration Fund.
- Curtis, S.
1980 Krieg. Pp. 763-786 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Dahood, M.
1972 Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs. Pp. 37-482 in *Res Samaria Parallel 1*. *Analecta orientalia* 49, ed. L. R. Fisher. Rome: Pontificium institutum biblicum.
- Darnell, J. C., and Jastrow, R.
1993 On the Moabite Inscriptions of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50: 23-4.
- Davies, P. M. M.
1993 *Houses and Their Furnishings in Bronze Age Palestine: Domestic Activity Areas and Alkhu. Distribution in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages*. JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series B. Sheffield: JSOT.

- Davies, G. I.
 1986 *Megiddo*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Davies, P. R.
 1992 *In Search of Ancient Israel*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 148. Sheffield: JSOT.
- Davies, W. V.
 1987 *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum VII: Tools and Weapons, I-41st*. London: The British Museum.
- Deagan, K.
 1982 *Avenues of Inquiry in Historical Archaeology*. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 5: 15-177.
- Dearman, J. A.
 1982 Settlement Patterns and the Beginning of the Iron Age in Moab. Pp. 65-75 in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant*. Sheffield: Archaeological Monographs, ed. P. Barakawa. Sheffield: Colling.
- Dearman, J. A., and Mattingly, G. L.
 1992 *Mesha Stele*. Pp. 18-36 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 4, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- de Margret, A.
 1976 *La lance dell'Asia anteriore nell'Era del Bronzo*. Studi Semitici, 41. Rome: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente.
- Denisov, A., and Kochavi, M.
 1978 The Alphabet from the Days of the Judges. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 4: 23-30.
- Dentan, R. C.
 1955 *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*. New Haven: Yale University.
- Derrida, J.
 1980 The Law of Genre. *Critical Inquiry* 7/1: 35-81.
- Desroches-Noblecourt, C.
 1976 *Ramès le Grand*. Paris: Les Galeries nationales.
 1996 *Ramès II La véritable Histoire*. Paris: Gerard Watelet.
- Desenne, A.
 1957 *Le Sphinx. Etude Iconographique*. Vol. 1. Des Origines à la fin du Second Millénaire. Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Archéologie et de Rome.
- Dever, W. G.
 1966 The Water Systems and Hazor and Gezer. *Biblical Archaeologist* 32: 71-78.
 1973 Lower 5017 at Gezer: A Reconsider. *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 23-26.
 1973 *Archaeology and Biblical Studies: Retrospect and Prospects*. Exeter: Snelbury-Western.
 1976 The Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine. Pp. 3-38 in *Ugaritica V: The Mighty Acts of God. Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, ed. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, and P. D. Miller, Jr. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
 1982 Retrospects and Prospects in Biblical and Syro-Palestinian Archaeology. *Biblical Archaeologist* 45: 103-117.
 1985 Relations Between Syria-Palestine and Egypt in the Hyksos Period. Pp. 69-87 in *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Papers in Honour of Olga Tufnell*, ed. J. N. Tubb. London: Institute of Archaeology.
 1986 Late Bronze Age and Solomonic Defenses at Gezer: New Evidence. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 262: 9-34.
 1987 The Middle Bronze Age: The Zenith of the Urban Canaanite Era. *Biblical Archaeologist* 50: 149-177.

- 1988 Impact of the New Archaeology. Pp. 337-352 in *Benchmarks in Time and Culture*, ed. J. F. Drinkard, Jr., G. L. Mattingly and J. M. Miller. Atlanta: Scholars.
- 1989 The Collapse of the Urban Early Bronze Age in Palestine: Toward a Systemic Analysis. Pp. 225-240 in *L'urbanisation de la Palestine à l'âge du Bronze ancien: Butin et perspectives des recherches actuelles, Actes du Colloque d'Entremont, 19-24 octobre 1988*, Part 2. BAR International Series 527, ed. P. de Miroschedj. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- 1990 Hyksos, Egyptian Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age. *Levant* 22: 75-81.
- 1991 Archaeological Data on the Israelite Settlement: A Review of Two Recent Works. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 284: 77-90.
- 1992a Gezer. Pp. 998-1003 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- 1992b Tell el-Qedah. Pp. 578-581 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- 1992c The Late Bronze-Early Iron I Horizon in Syria-Palestine, Egyptus, Canaanites, Sea Peoples, and Proto-Israelites. Pp. 36-117 in *The El-Amarna Texts: The 12th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- 1992d How to Tell a Canaanite from an Israelite. Pp. 27-60 in *The Rise of Early Israel*, ed. Hershel Shanks. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society.
- 1992e The Chronology of Syria-Palestine in the Second Millennium B.C.E.: A Review of Current Issues. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 288: 1-26.
- 1992f Israel, History of Archaeology and the "Conquest". Pp. 545-558 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 3, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- 1992g A Case Study: Biblical Archaeology, The Earthquake of 1200 B.C. *Exegetical Archaeology* 4: 3-51.
- 1993a Pastoralism and the End of the Urban Early Bronze Age in Palestine. Pp. 81-92 in *Pastoralism in the Levant: Archaeological, Historical, and Anthropological Perspectives*. Monographs in World Archaeology 31, ed. C. Bar-Yosef and A. Khazanov. Madison, WI: Prehistory.
- 1993b Further Evidence on the Date of the Outer Wall at Gezer. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 289: 33-54.
- 1993c Cultural Continuity, Ethnicity in the Archaeological Record and the Question of Israelite Origins. *Eretz Israel* 24: 22*-33*.
- 1993d Biblical Archaeology: Death and Rebirth. Pp. 205-222 in *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990: Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June-July 1990*, ed. A. Biran and J. Aviram. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- 1993e Gezer. Pp. 496-506 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 1993a Will the Real Israel Please Stand Up? Archaeology and Israelite Historiography. Part I. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 297: 6-80.
- 1993b Certainty, Ethnicity, and the Question of Israel's Origin. *Biblical Archaeologist* 56: 200-213.
- 1993c The Identity of Early Israel: A Reply to Keith W. Whitlam. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 72: 1-24.
- 1993a Israelite Origins and the 'Nomadic Ideal': Can Archaeology Separate Fact from Fiction? Pp. 220-231 in *Eastern Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: The*

- teenth to Early Iron I Canaan B.C.E., ed. S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- 1997b Archaeology and the Emergence of Early Israel. Pp. 29-50 in *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation*, ed. J. R. Bartlett. London: Routledge.
- Dever, W. G., and Younger, R. W.
1991 Tel Gezer 1990. *Israel Exploration Journal* 41: 282-289.
- Dever, W. G., Lance, H. D., Wright, G. F.
1970 *Gezer I: Report of the 1964-65 Season*. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College/Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
- Dever, W. G., Lance, H. D., Bullard, R. G., Cole, D. P., Furshpan, A. M., Holladay, J. S., Seger, J. D., and Wright, R. B.
1971 Further Excavations at Gezer 1967-1971. *Biblical Archaeology* 34: 94-132.
- Dever, W. G., ed.
1974 *Gezer II: Reports of the 1967-71 Season, in Fields I and II*. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College/Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
- 1986 *Gezer III: Reports of the 1972-74 Seasons in Field II of the Excavations*. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College/Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
- Dietrich, M., and Loretz, O.
1978 Der "See ahrendes Volk" von S. 14. RS 34: 29. *Ugarit Forschungen* 10: 53-56.
- Dillhey, W.
1962 *Gesammelte Schriften*. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Donner, H., and Röllig, W.
1962 *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Dornemann, R. H.
1982 The Beginning of the Iron Age in Transjordan. Pp. 13-14 in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan I*, ed. A. Hachich. Amman: Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
- 1983 *The Archaeology of the Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum.
- Dorsey, D. A.
1991 *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- Dothan, M.
1960a Notes and News: Tell Mor/Tell Khidir. *Israel Exploration Journal* 10: 123-125.
- 1960b Notes and News: Azor, 1960. *Israel Exploration Journal* 10: 259-260.
- 1969 Notes and News: Tel Ashdod. *Israel Exploration Journal* 9: 44-45.
- 1971 *Ashdod II-III: The second and third seasons of excavations*. 96. 1965. *Atiqot* 9-10. Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities and Museums.
- 1973a The Excavation of the Late Bronze Age at Tel Mor and Ashdod. *Exe. Israel* 122-133. Hebrew.
- 1973b The Foundation of Tel Mor and Ashdod. *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 1-7.
- 1973c Notes and News: Akko. *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 97-98.
- 1975 Notes and News: Akko, 1975. *Israel Exploration Journal* 25: 163-166.
- 1976 Akko: Interim Excavation Report First Season, 1974-75. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 224: 1-48.
- 1977 Notes and News: Akko, 1977. *Israel Exploration Journal* 27: 141-142.
- 1979 Ashdod at the End of the Late Bronze Age and the Beginning of the Iron Age. Pp. 125-34 in *Symposium Celebrating the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, ed. F. M. Cross. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- 1981 Notes and News: Akko, 1980. *Israel Exploration Journal* 31: 10-112.

- 1993a Ashdod. Pp. 93-102 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 1993b Azor. Pp. 123-129 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 1993c Mor, Tel. Pp. 1073-1074 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Dothan, M., and Freedman, D. N.
1967 *Ashdod I: The First Season of Excavations, 1966*. August 7. Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities and Museums.
- Dothan, M., and Goldmann, Z.
1993 Acco. Pp. 16-24 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Dothan, M., and Porath, Y.
1992 *Ashdod II: Excavations of Area M*. August 15. Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities and Museums.
- 1993 *Ashdod V: Excavation of Area G. The Fourth and Sixth Seasons of Excavations 1968-1970*. August 23. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Dothan, T.
1957 Archaeological Reflections on the Philistine Problem. *Antiquity and Survival* 2: 161-164.
- 1972a The Cemetery Near Deir el-Balah and Bunal in Anthropoid Sarcophagi in Eretz Israel. *Qadmonot* 1: 2-25. Hebrew.
- 1972b Anthropoid Clay Coffins from a Late Bronze Age Cemetery near Deir el-Balah. Preliminary Report 1. *Israel Exploration Journal* 22: 65-71.
- 1973 Anthropoid Clay Coffins from a Late Bronze Age Cemetery near Deir el-Balah. Preliminary Report 2. *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 129-146.
- 1977 *Excavations at the Cemetery of Deir el-Balah (Qadmonot)*. Jerusalem: Ministry of Education and Culture.
- 1982a *The Philistine and Their Material Culture*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- 1982b Last Outpost of Ancient Egypt. *National Geographic Magazine* 73: 719.
- 1982c Aspects of Egyptian and Phoenician Presence in Canaan During the Late Bronze - Early Iron Ages. Pp. 1-10 in *The Land of Israel: Cross Roads of Civilizations*, ed. E. Lipinski. Leuven: Peeters.
- 1985a Deir el-Balah: The Final Campaign. *National Geographic Review* 6: 79-114.
- 1985b The Impact of Egypt on Canaan during the Second 19th Centuries: the Light of the Excavations at Deir el-Balah. Pp. 1-13 in *Egypt, Israel, Syria: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period*, ed. A. F. Rainey. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.
- 1987 Social Dislocation and Cultural Change in the 12th Century B.C. Pp. 93-98 in *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Jaskowsky. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- 1993 Deir el-Balah. Pp. 343-347 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 1995 Tel Mader-Ekron: The Amarna Affair and the Sea Peoples: Philistine Settlement in Canaan at Iron Age I. Pp. 1-10 in *Recent Excavations in Israel: A View from the West*. Archaeological Institute of America: Colloquia & Conference Paper 1, ed. S. Gail. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- Dothan, T., and Dothan, M.
1992 *People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines*. New York: Macmillan.
- Drekhman, R.
1984 Ramses III. Pp. 114-119 in *Leben der Ägypter*, vol. 3, ed. W. Heick and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Drews, R.
 1988 *The Coming of the Greeks. Indo-European Conquest in the Aegean and the Near East*. Princeton: Princeton University.
 1993 *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* Princeton: Princeton University.
- Drioton, E.
 1933 A Propos de Sêle du Balou. *Revue Sémitique* 42: 353-365.
- Driver, G. R.
 1948 *Semite Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet*. London: Oxford University.
- Drower, M. S.
 9 Syria c. 1550-1400 B.C. Pp. 417-525 in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 2, part 1, ed. J. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and F. Sauerberg. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- du Boisson, M.
 936 *Le site archéologique de Mukhijé-Qama*. Paris: Boccard.
- Dussaud, R.
 123 *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*. Paris: Ge. G. L.
 931 Nouveaux renseignements sur la Palestine et la Syrie vers 2000 avant notre ère. *Syllabé* 216-233.
 940 Nouveaux textes égyptiens d'extermination contre les peuples syriens. *Syllabé* 270-272.
- Duvenger, M. ed.
 1980 *Le concept d'Empire*. Paris: Universitaires de France.
- Dyson, R. H., Jr.
 1989a Rediscovering Hazaki. *Expedition* 31: 3-11.
 1989b The Iron Age Architecture at Hazaki. An Essay. *Expedition* 31: 107-12.
- Dyson, S. I.
 1991 From New to New Age Archaeology: Archaeological Theory and Classical Archaeology. A 1990s Perspective. *American Journal of Archaeology* 97: 195-208.
- Eaton, Kraus, M.
 98 *Ses-Merenptah als Krieger-Merenptah*. *Göttinger Museum* 50: 13-21.
 1986 Ramses II. Pp. 9-11 in *Lexicon des égyptologie*, vol. 4, ed. W. Henk and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Ehrlich, J.
 118 Israel before 1200. Pp. 9-11 in *Lexicon des égyptologie*, vol. 4, ed. W. Henk and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Fa. L.
 1976 *A Theory of Semites*. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Fa. L. L.
 1930 KBo 1. 15 + 19. ein Brief Ramses' II. mit einer Schilderung der Kach-Schlacht. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 49: 195-2.
 1933 Weitere Briefe von Ramses II. an Hattusili III. Ramses II. Pp. 10-14 in *Geschichte und Altes Testament. Festschrift für Albright*. Al. ed. G. Ebeling. Tübingen: Mohr.
 331 Die Statue Amenophis II. aus Karnak am Memphis mit dem Bericht über den militärischen Feldzug des Königs. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Forschung* 69: 97-116.
 96 Ein Kairo-Fragment mit einem Bericht über den Libyenkrieg Merneptah. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 86: 101-103.
 966 *Der Ostwandrelief aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III.* Bonn: Hanstein.
 197 Notizen zu Freudenthal's ägyptischen Quellen. *Orientalia* 43: 1-10.

- 1975 Neue Identifikationen topographischer Namen in den konventionellen Namenszusammenstellungen des Neuen Reiches. *Studien zur Ägyptischen Kultur* 3: 49-73
- 1976 Die ägyptischen Namen in der Völkerliste Ramses II. *Studien zur Ägyptischen Kultur* 4: 75-101
- 1980 Die Ortsnamenliste in den Tempeln von Akhla, Amarah und Sobel in Sudan. *Biblische Notizen* 11: 78
- 1994a *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazkoi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache, Band 1: Umschriften und Übersetzungen*. Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 117. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag
- 1994b *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazkoi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache, Band 2: Kommentar*. Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 117. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag
- Edelman, D.
1992 Who or What Was Israel? *Biblical Archaeology Review* 18: 21-23, 4
- 1995 Edom: A Historical Geography. Pp. 1-10 in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Sair in History and Tradition*. Archaeology and Biblical Studies 3, ed. D. V. Edelman. Atlanta: Scholars
- 1996 Ethnicity and Early Israel. Pp. 25-35 in *Ethnicity and the Bible*, ed. M. G. Brett. Biblical Interpretation Series 19. Leiden: Brill
- Erlebach, G., and Kiley, M.
1988 Mevaasserat Yerushalayim: Ancient Terraces Farming. *Biblical Archaeologist* 44: 53-56
- Edgerton, W. F., and Wilson, J. A.
1946 *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Text in Medinet Habu, Volumes I and II*. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 12. Chicago: University of Chicago
- Edwards, P. C., Bourke, S. J., Da Costa, K. A., [Journé, J. C., Walmsley, A. G., and Watson, P. M.]
1990 Preliminary Report on the University of Sydney's Tenth Season of Excavations at Peula (Tabaqat Fahl in 1988). *Annuaire of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 34: 57-93
- Edzard, D. O.
1972-75 Hurriter, Hurritisch. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 4: 44-55, 4
- Eisenstadt, S. N.
1963 *The Political Systems of Empires*. Glencoe: Free
- 1979 Observations and Queries about Sociological Aspects of Imperialism in the Ancient World. Pp. 21-31 in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires, Mesopotamia*, ed. M. T. Larsen. Copenhagen: Akademisk
- Eissfeldt, O.
1996 *Esdra und das Alte Testament*, 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr
- 1995 *Pastime in the Time of the Sea Kings: The Exodus and Wanderings*. Fascicle for *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Oxford University
- Eitan, A., Bech, P., Kuchava, M.
1993 Aphek In Situ. Pp. 62-72 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster
- Eklholm, K., and Friedman, J.
1979 "Capital" Imperialism and Exploitation in Ancient World Systems. Pp. 41-58 in *Power and Propaganda: Mesopotamia* 7, ed. M. T. Larsen. Copenhagen: Akademisk

- El-Saad, H.
1992 The Wars of Seti I at Karnak: A New Chronological Structure. *Studien zur Ägyptischen Kultur* 19: 283-294.
- Emerton, J. A.
1988 Review of Abrom 1986. *Vetus Testamentum* 38: 372-3 3.
- Engel, H.
1979 Die Siegestele des Merneptah. Kritischer Überblick über die verschiedenen Versuche historischer Auswertung des Schlussabschnittes. *Biblica* 60: 373-394.
- Engelbach, R., et al.
1938 *Raqet and Memphis VI*. London: School of Archaeology in Egypt.
- Engel, I.
1913 *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Eph'al, I.
1982 Political History of Eretz Israel in the Time of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. Pp. 21-25 in *The History of Eretz Israel I: The Early Period*, ed. I. Eph'al. Jerusalem: Keter Hebrew.
- Epigraphic Survey, University of Chicago Oriental Institute
1986 *The Battle Relief: a King with 1 Retainers and 1000 Soldiers at Karnak*, vol. 4. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Fischer, W.
1933 *Papyrus Harris I: Hieroglyphische Transkription*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 5. Bruxelles: Edition de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.
- Firth, A.
1923 *Die Literatur des Ägypten*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
1927 *The Literature of the Egyptians*. London: Methuen.
1968 *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. Hildesheim: Olms.
- Firth, A., and Grapow, H.
1926 *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache I*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
1961 *Ägyptisches Handwörterbuch*. Hildesheim: Olms.
- Fox, J.
1988 Review of Finkelstein 1988. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 14: 6-12.
1989 Secondary State Formations at the Collapse in Early Bronze Age Palestine. Pp. 8-14 in *Formation of the State in Early Bronze Age Palestine: A Review of the Researches in the Field of the Collapse of the Early Bronze Age in Palestine*, ed. P. de Miroschedji. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
1991 The Collared Rim Store Jar: Scholarly Ideology and Ceramic Typology. *Neolithic Journal of the Old Testament* 2: 99-115.
1992 The Collared Pottery at Megiddo: Ceramic Distribution and Ethnicity. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51: 81-113.
- Firth, H. W.
1939 Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Amarah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1938-9. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25: 139-143.
1940 Review of Simons 1937. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26: 165.
- Falconer, S. E.
1994 The Development and Decline of Bronze Age Civilisation in the Southern Levant: A Reassessment of Urbanism and Ruralism. Pp. 305-333 in *Development and Decline in the Mediterranean Bronze Age*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 8, ed. C. Mathers and S. Stocklart. Sheffield: Collins.
- Faulkner, R. O.
1947 The Wars of Seti I. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 33: 34-39.

- 1953 Egyptian Military Organization. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39: 32-47.
- 1958 The Battle of Kadesh. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo* 16: 93-111.
- 1962 *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- 1975 Egypt from the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III. Pp. 1-11 in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed., vol. 2, part 2, ed. I. F. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Faivre, G.
- 1964 Die Form der altägyptischen Literatur: Metrische und stilistische Analyse. Teil 1). *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 91: 11-63.
- 1965 Die Form der altägyptischen Literatur: Metrische und stilistische Analyse. Teil 2). *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 92: 10-32.
- 1983 *The Egyptian Grammar and Vocabulary*. Pp. 1-11 in *Fontes antiqui Aegypti. Festschrift für H. Branner*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 3, ed. M. Görg. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1984 Ramses II and the Search for Qadesh. Qadesh: Ergänzende Untersuchungen zum Abschluss an meinem Aufsatz in der Festschrift SAK, *Göttinger Museum* 8: 23-41.
- 1993 The Structural Principle of Ancient Egyptian Elevated Language. Pp. 69-94 in *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Poetry*, ed. J. C. de Moor and W. G. F. Watson. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener.
- Finkelstein, G. M.
- 1967 Thoughts on New Approaches to Combining the Archaeological and Historical Records. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4: 367-377.
- Finkelstein, F. I.
- 1961 Peace Treaties Between the Israelites and the Qenites. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 175: 51-54.
- Finkelstein, A.
- 1985 *The Origins of War*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Finkelstein, I.
- 981 The Date of Gezer's Outer Wall. *Tel Aviv* 8: 136-145.
- 986 *Tzfat Sariah: An Early Iron Age Site Near Rosh Haayin*. Israel BAR International Series 299. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- 988 *The Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- 988-89 The Land of Ephraim Survey 1980-1981. Preliminary Report. *Tel Aviv* 15: 6: 117-118.
- 990 Excavations at Khirbet ed-Dawwana. An Iron Age Site Northwest of Jerusalem. *Tel Aviv* 17: 163-209.
- 991 The Emergence of Israel in Canaan: Consensus, Mainstream, and Dispute. *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 5: 1-17.
- 992a Participation in the Highlands. *Excavations of the First and Second Millennia B.C.E.* Pp. 1-11 in *Excavations of the First and Second Millennia B.C.E. in Archaeological Perspectives*. Monographs in World Archaeology 10, ed. O. Bar-Yosef and A. Khazanov. Madison, WI: Prehistory.
- 992b Responses. Pp. 153-157 in *The Road to Ancient Israel*, ed. H. Shanks. Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society.
- 992a The Emergence of Israel: A Phase in the Cyclic History of Canaan in the Third and Second Millennia B.C.E. Pp. 150-178 in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, ed. I. Finkelstein and A. N. Shanks. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

- 1994b Penelope's Shroud Unravels: Iron II Date of Gezer's Outer Wall Established. *Tel Aviv* 21: 276-282.
- 1995a The Great Transformation: The Conquest of the Highland Frontier and the Rise of the Territorial States. Pp. 349-365 in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. E. Levy. Leicester: Leicester University.
- 1995b The Date of the Settlement of the Philistines in Canaan. *JdA* 22: 233-239.
- 1995c *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighboring Region in the Bronze and Iron Age*. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.
- 1996a Edomites and Origin of the Land: Settlers in the Highlands of Canaan. Can the Real Israel Stand Up? *Biblical Archaeologist* 59/4: 198-212.
- 1996b The Philistine Countryside. *Israel Exploration Journal* 46: 22-24.
- 1997 Pots and Peoples Revisited: Foreign Pottery in the Iron Age. Pp. 216-238 in *The Archaeology of Israel: Confronting the Past, Interpreting the Present*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series 23. ed. N. A. Silberman and D. B. Small. Sheffield: JSOT.
- Finkelstein, L., Bunimovitz, S., and Lederman, Z., eds.
1993 *Shish: The Anniversary of a Biblical Site*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology.
- Finkelstein, L., and Gophna, R.
1983 Settlement, Demography, and Economic Patterns in the Highlands of Palestine: The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Periods—The Beginning of Urbanism. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 289: 1-27.
- Finkelstein, L., and Na'aman, N., eds.
1994 *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeology and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Finkelstein, L., and Perevolotsky, A.
1990 Processes of Sedentarization and Normalization in the History of the Sinai and the Negev. *Papers of the American School of Oriental Research* 74: 17-38.
- Finkelstein, L., Oren, E., Sass, B., and Meshel, Z.
1980 Summary Table of the Historical Periods and the Archaeological Remains in Sinai. Pp. 451-460 in *Sinai in Antiquity*, ed. Z. Meshel and L. Finkelstein. Tel Aviv: Hakkibutz Hameuchad: Hebrew.
- Fischer-Ellert, H.-W.
1983 *Die Schriftliche Strukturfunktion des Papyrus: Ansatz I: Textzusammenstellung*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
1985 *Die Schriftliche Strukturfunktion des Papyrus: Ansatz I: Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- FitzGerald, G. M.
1931 *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth Shan: The Pottery* 212. Philadelphia: University Museum.
1935 Earliest Pottery of Beth Shan. *Museum Journal* 24: 5-17.
- Führer, G.
1966 Altes Testament — "Amphikaryon" und "Bund"? *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 91: 801-816, 89 + 90.
- Foster, J. L.
1977 *Thought, Concepts and Chiasm Sequences in a Literary Text: The Murres of Pith Amepi*. Toronto: Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities.
1980 The Ancient Egyptian Genre of Narrative Verse. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 39: 89-117.
1988 "The Shipwrecked Sailor": Prose or Verse. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 15: 69-9.

- Frandsen, P. J.
 1978 Egyptian Imperialism. Pp. 167-87 in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires Mesopotamia*, ed. M. T. Larsen. Copenhagen: Akademisk.
- Franken, H. J.
 1961 The Excavations at Tell Alla in Jordan. 2nd Season. *Letus Testamentum* 11: 361-72.
- Franken, H. J., and Kahlebeck, J.
 1969 *Excavations at Tell Der '48*, vol. 1. *Documenta et Monumenta Orientalis Antiquae* 16. Leiden: Brill.
- Frankfort, H.
 1948 *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Free, J. P.
 1944 Abraham's Camels. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3: 187-93.
- Friedel, D. A.
 1986 Maya Warfare: An Example of Peer Policy Interaction. Pp. 93-108 in *Peer Policy Interaction and Social Political Change*, ed. C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry. New Directions in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Friedel, D. A., and Sacht, J. A.
 1984 *Cazones: Late Maya Settlement Patterns*. New York: Academic.
- French, E.
 1971 The Development of Mesoamerican Terracotta Figurines. *Annals of the British School at Athens* 66: 131-159.
- Frenda, A. J.
 1983 The Capabilities and Limitations of Ancient Near Eastern Nomadic Archaeology. *Orientalia* 65: 1-23.
- Fried, M.
 1961-62 Warfare, Military Organization, and the Evolution of Society. *Anthropology* 5: 34-42.
 1967 *The Evolution of Political Society*. New York: Random House.
- Friedman, J.
 1983 Ideology. Pp. 375-376 in *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, ed. A. Kuper and J. Kuper. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Fritz, V.
 1973 Das Ende der spathronzeitlichen Stadt Hazor Stratum XIII an der biblischen Überlieferung in Josua 11 und Richter 4. *Israelische Forschungen* 5: 123-139.
 1981 The Ismaelite 'Conquest' in the Light of Recent Excavations at Khirbet el-Meshash. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 241: 61-73.
 1982a Tel-Masseh: A Biblical Site in the Negev. *Archaeology* 36: 5-36.
 1983b Paläste während der Bronze- und Eisenzeit in Palästina. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 99: 142.
 1987 Conquest or Settlement? The Early Iron Age in Palestine. *Biblical Archaeologist* 50: 84-100.
 1994 Das Buch Josua. Handbuch zum Alten Testament 7. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Fritz, V., and Kempinski, A.
 1983 *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf der Hübel el-Mas (Tel Maseh) 1972-1975*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Fugmann, E.
 1938 *Hama. Fouilles et recherches 1931-1938. L'architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques*. Copenhagen: Fondation Carlsberg.

- Funk, R.
1968 The Bronze Age Iron I Pottery. Pp. 44-46 in *The 1957 Excavation at Beth Shean*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 38 ed. E. Sellars, R. W. Funk, J. L. McKenzie, P. W. Lapp, and N. Lapp. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Furumark, A.
1941 The Mycenaean Pottery. Stockholm: K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
- Gabriel, G. A.
1976 *Narrative in Egyptian Art*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Gadamer, H.-G.
1975 *Truth and Method*. London: Sheed and Ward.
- Gal, I.
1979 An Early Iron Age Site Near Tel Menorah in the Beth-Shean Valley. *Tel Aviv* 6: 38-143.
1988 The Late Bronze Age in Galilee: A Reassessment. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 272: 9-33.
1992 *Lower Galilee During the Iron Age*. ASOR Dissertation Series 8. Wilona Lake: IN Eisenbrauns.
1994 Some Aspects of Road-Making Between Egypt and Canaan. Pp. 77-82 in *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Ancient Egypt in Honour of Moshe Dothan*, ed. M. Helzer, A. Segal, and D. Kaufman. Haifa: Haifa University.
1994 Iron I in the Lower Galilee and the Margins of the Jezreel Valley. Pp. 35-46 in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeology and History in Aspects of Early Israel*, ed. I. F. Kristan and V. Na'aman. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Gal, I. M.
1991 *Levers and Ponds: Terminology Related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty*. *Zakonomner Ägyptologisches Beilage* 41. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- Galling, K.
1968 *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Gamble, C.
1968 Animal Husbandry, Population and Urbanization. Pp. 111-144 in *Inter-Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Mesopotamia*, ed. C. Renfrew and M. Wagsstaff. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Gardiner, A. H.
1920 The Ancient Military Road Between Egypt and Palestine. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6: 164-165.
1933 *The Temple of King Sesostris at Akko*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
1947 *Later Egyptian Monuments*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7. Brussels: Édition de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.
1941 Rameside Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 27: 19-35.
1947 *Ancient Egyptian Grammar*. London: Griffith Institute.
1956 Pharaonic Economy (in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 42: 8-20).
1957 *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
1960 *The Rameside Inscriptions of Ramesses II*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
1961 *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Garfinkel, Y.
1988 The Early Iron Age Stratigraphy at Beth Shean Reconsidered. *Israel Exploration Journal* 37: 224-228.

- Garnsey, P. D. A.
1988 Mountain Economies in Southern Europe. Pp. 196-209 in *Pastoral Economy in Classical Antiquity*, Supplementary vol. 14, ed. G. R. Whitaker. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.
- Garnsey, P. D. A., and Whitaker, G. R., eds.
1988 *Imperialism in the Ancient World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garstang, J.
1912 The Field's Excavation of Ashkelon. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 53: 12-15, 157-169.
1920 The Excavations at Ashkelon. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 54: 112-119.
1924 Ashkelon. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 56: 24-35.
1927 Reviews and Notices of Publications. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 59: 224-225.
1931 *The Foundation of Biblical History*. Joshua, Judge. London: Constable.
- Gauthier, H.
1913 *Les Temples immergés de la Nubie. Le Temple d'Amada*. Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
1921-31 *Le dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans le texte hiéroglyphique*. 7 vols. Le Caire: L'imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale pour la Société royale de géographie d'Égypte.
- Gerritz, C.
1989 Ideology as a Cultural System. Pp. 3-26 in *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. D. I. Apter. London: Free.
- Geller, S. A.
1979 *Parallelism in Early Hebrew Poetry*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 20. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Gershon, M.
1977 Generic Studies: Their Renewed Importance in Religious and Literary Interpretation. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 45: 309-32.
- Gerrard, A. N., and Gebel, H. G., eds.
1988 *The Prehistory of Jordan: The State of Research in 1986*. BAR International Series 396. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Gershuny, J.
1981 Stratum V at Tell Abu Hawara. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 97: 36-44.
- Gese, H.
1958 Geschichtliches Denken im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament. *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 55: 211-115.
- Geus, C. H. J. de.
1976 The Importance of Archaeological Research in the Palestinian Agricultural Terraces, with an Excursion on the Hebrew Wine-gin. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 107: 63-74.
1976 *The Tribes of Israel: An Introduction into Some of the Presuppositions of Martin Noth's Amphictremic Hypothesis*. Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum.
- Gibson, S., Ellis, B., and Kloner, A.
1991 The Bara, Prehistoric Landscape Archaeology in the Judean Hills: A Preliminary Report of Four Seasons of Survey and Excavations. *IEJ* 1989: 23-29, 34.
- Gibula, M.
1977 An Inscription in Egyptian Hieratic from Lacish. *Trois Ann.* 3: 107-118.
- Ginn, S.
1990 Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel, W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, April.

Garten, B. M.

1978 *Studies in Late Cypriot Pottery Found in Palestine*. Ann Arbor: MI University Microfilms.1981 The Cultural and Chronological Implications of the Cyprio-Palestinian Trade during the Late Bronze Age. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 241: 49-66.1992 The Late Bronze Age "City" at Tel Maqac/Ekron. *Eretz Israel* 13: 30*-33*.

Giveon, R.

1961 Toponymes ouest-asiatiques à Soleh. *Levant* 14: 239-241.1962 The Shown of Egyptian Sources and the Exodus. Pp. 44-196. *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies Papers*, vol. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies.1969a Egyptian Inscriptions and Finds from a Temple in the Timna Area. Pp. 70-53 in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. 1, ed. P. Pele. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies.1969b Thutmose IV and Asa. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 28: 4-59.1969c The Success of the Late XXth Dynasty. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 8: 51-53.971 *Le héliopolitain: Sources de documents Égyptiens*. Documenta et Monumenta Orientalis Antiqui 18. Leyden: Brill.972 An Egyptian Cathedral at Saqqara. *Levant Expedition Journal* 2: 113-144.974 Investigations in the Egyptian Mining Centres in Sinai. *Tel Aviv* 1: 100-85.975a Asad. Pp. 462 in *Levant der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.975b Asad. Pp. 462-471 in *Levant der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.1975c Asad. Pp. 471-472 in *Levant der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.975d Two Excavations of Ramesses II. *Levant Expedition Journal* 2: 237-241.975e Egyptian Finger Rings and Seals from South of Gaza. *Levant Expedition Journal* 2: 241-246.977a Gaza. Pp. 38-393 in *Levant der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.1978a *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 20. Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.1978b Two Canaanite Egyptian Inscriptions from Tel Aphek. *Levant* 198: 59-61.1978c *Jerusalem: Temples and Palaces*. *Levant der Ägyptologie*, vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.1979 Remarks on Some Toponym Lists Concerning Canaan. *Freiburger Orientalische Zeitschrift*, 12. März 1979, ed. M. Görg and E. Pusch. Bamberg: Georg.1981 A New Kingdom Stela from Sinai. *Levant Expedition Journal* 3: 98-107.1982 Ostracines from Byblos. Pp. 21-42 in *Levant der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.983 An Inscription of Ramesses III from Lachish. *Tel Aviv* 10: 175-177.984 Shalman. Pp. 48-50 in *Levant der Ägyptologie*, vol. 5, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.985 *Egyptian Scarabs from Western Asia from the Collections of the British Museum*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 3. Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.986 *Scarabs from Ramat el-Khaima in Israel*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 85. Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- Givon, R., and Hertesz, T.
 1986 *Egyptian Scarab and Seal from Avar, from the Collection of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 83. Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Giedhill, J., and Larsen, M. T.
 1982 The Polanyi Paradigm and a Dynamic Analysis of Archaic States. Pp. 119-129 in *Theory and Explanation in Archaeology*, ed. C. Renfrew, M. J. Rowlands, and B. A. Segraves. New York: Academic.
- Giock, A. E.
 1993 *Excavations*. Pp. 1428-1433 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Gjoneck, N.
 1933 Further Explorations in Eastern Palestine. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 51: 9-19.
 1934 Explorations in Eastern Palestine I. *Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 14: 1-113.
 1935 *Excavations in Eastern Palestine II*. *Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 15. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.
 1936 The Boundaries of Esom. *Hebrew Union College Annual* 11: 141-157.
 1937 *Excavations in Eastern Palestine III*. *Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 18-19. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.
 1951 *Excavations in Eastern Palestine II*. *Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 22-28. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Gombr, A. M.
 1948 *Militär und Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der Neuzeit*. *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens* 17. Heidelberg: Heinen Verlag.
- Gombr, R.
 1991a Israelite Settlement of Canaan: A Peaceful Internal Process — Part 1. *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 21: 1-10.
 1991b Israelite Settlement of Canaan: A Peaceful Internal Process — Part 2. *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 21: 11-17.
- Goedicke, H.
 1985a Considerations on the Battle of Kadesh. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 72: 1-10.
 1985b A Comment on the Name "Israel." *Studien zur Ägyptischen Kultur Beiheft* 4: 273-278.
 1985c The Battle of Kadesh: A Reassessment. Pp. 1-12 in *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh*, ed. H. Goedicke. Baltimore: Hargo.
- Goedicke, H., ed.
 1985 *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh*. Baltimore: Hargo.
- Gross, A.
 1929 Zur Schlacht von Qadesh. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 32: 832-838.
 1933 *Die Annalen des Mithridates*. *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 38. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
 1957 On the Chronology of the Second Millennium B.C. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11: 63-73.
 1969 *Hebrew Treaties*. Pp. 201-206 in *Anchor: Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed., ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University.

Goldberg, P., Gould, B., Killebrew, A., and Yellin, J.

- 1986 Comparison of Neutron Activation and Thin-Section Analyses on Late Bronze Age Ceramics from Jericho-Bethan. Pp. 53-54 in *Proceedings of the 24th International Archaeometry Symposium*, ed. J. S. Ober and M. J. Blackman. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Goldwasser, O.

- 1982 The Lachish Hieratic Bowl Once Again. *Tel Aviv* 9: 137-138.
 1984 Hieratic inscriptions from Tel Sera in Southern Canaan. *Tel Aviv* 11: 77-91.
 1989 Some Egyptian Finds from Hazor: Scarabs, Scarab Impressions and a Sarc Fragment. Pp. 399-404 in *Hazor III: An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957-1958*, ed. A. Ben-Tor. Jerusalem: Magnes.
 1991a A Fragment of an Hieratic Ostrakon from Tel Hazor. *Qadmonot* 24: 19. Hebrew.
 1991b An Egyptian Scribe from Lachish and the Hieratic Tradition of the Hebrew Kingdoms. *Tel Aviv* 18: 248-253.

Gonen, R.

- 1981 Tel el-Ajul in the Late Bronze Age—City or Cemetery? *Eretz Israel* 15: 69-78. Hebrew.
 1984 Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze Period. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 253: 61-73.
 1987 Megiddo in the Late Bronze Age—Another Reassessment. *Levant* 19: 83-100.
 1992a *Burial Patterns and Cultural Identity in Late Bronze Age Canaan*. ASOR Dissertation Series. Washington, DC: Publications.
 1992b The Late Bronze Age. Pp. 211-257 in *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel*, ed. A. Ben-Tor. New Haven: Yale University.

Gophna, R.

- 1992 Farah, Tell el-South. Pp. 111-114 in *The New Excavations of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Gophna, R., and Porath, Y.

- 1972 The Late Egyptian and Mameluk. Pp. 47-51 in *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan*, ed. M. Kochavi. Jerusalem: Archaeological Survey of Israel.

Goren, Y., Oren, E. D., and Feinberg, R.

- 1995 The Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Interpretation of a Ceramological Enigma: Pottery Production in Sais, Egypt During the New Kingdom Period. *KHAA Conference* 34: 101-120.

Görg, M.

- 1976a *Beute* = "Wohnsitz des Lot." *Göttingen Muzellen* 19: 31-32.
 1976b Zur Geschichte der *Sydo*. *Orientalia* 45: 424-428.
 1978 Namenstudien I: Frühe moabische Ortsnamen. *Biblische Notizen* 7: 7-14.
 1979 Thutmosis III. und die *Sydo*-Region. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38: 194-201.
 1986a Namenstudien VI: Drei weitere Belege für bekannte asyrische Ortsnamen aus Ägypten. *Biblische Notizen* 11: 14-17.
 1986b Namenstudien VII: *Sydo*-Bezeichnungen und *Sydo*-Nomen. *Biblische Notizen* 11: 8-20.
 1986c Namenstudien VIII: Südpalästinische Ortsnamen. *Biblische Notizen* 12: 18-19.
 1987 Der Name "Kanaan" in ägyptischer Wiedergabe. *Biblische Notizen* 18: 26-27.

- 1983a Ein Kanaanäer im Sinai. *Biblische Notizen* 20: 19-21
- 1983b Neue Identifikationen asiatischer Namen in der topographischen Liste Rameses II. am Tempel von Amara. *Biblische Notizen* 20: 22-28
- 1986 Weitere Asiatische Toponyme in der Liste von Amara West. *Biblische Notizen* 14-26
- 1989a Weitere Bruchstücke zum sogenannten Moab-Feldzug Rameses II. Pp. 1-34 in *Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte der Anfänge Israels*. M. Gorg, Ägypten und Altes Testament 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- 1989b Zur Identität der "Seri-Länder." Pp. 135-140 in *Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte der Anfänge Israels*. M. Gorg, Ägypten und Altes Testament 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Gorg, M., ed.
1983 *Festschrift für H. Bruner*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Goring-Morris, A. N.
1987 *At the Edge: Terminal Pottery and Hunter-Gathering in the Negev and Sinai*. BAR International Series 361. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports
- Gottwald, N. K.
1964 Were the Israelites Pastoral Nomads? Pp. 23-34 in *Rethinking the Bible: Essays in Honor of James M. Miller*, ed. J. Jackson and M. Kewer. Pittsburgh: Pickwick
- 1975 *Domestic Assumptions and Societal Models in the Study of pre-Monarchic Israel*. Pp. 86-100 in *Israel: The Crossroads of History*, ed. J. Pritchard. Supplement 28. Leiden: Brill
- 1976a *Israel: Social and Economic Development*. Pp. 46-108 in *Interpreting the History of the Bible*, Supplement, ed. K. Crim. Nashville: Abingdon
- 1976b *Nomadicism*. Pp. 629-631 in *Interpreters' Dictionary of the Bible*, Supplement, ed. K. Crim. Nashville: Abingdon
- 1978 The Hypothesis of the Revolutionary Origins of Ancient Israel: A Response to A. J. Hauer and T. L. Thompson. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 7: 3-22
- 1979 *The Israelite Ethos: A Sociology of Liberated Israel*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Literature 50. New York: Knoll
- 1980a The Israelite Settlement as a Social Revolutionary Movement. Pp. 34-45 in *Bible in the Making: Essays in Honour of the International Congress on Hebrew Archaeology*. Jerusalem, April 1984, ed. J. Avneri. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society
- 1985b *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction*. Philadelphia: Fortress
- 1993 Method and Hypothesis in Reconstructing the Social History of Early Israel. *Festschrift* 24: 174-87
- Gould, J.
1964 Ideology. Pp. 31-317 in *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, ed. J. Gould and W. F. Koll. New York: Free
- Grapow, H.
1936 *Sprachliche und schriftliche Herkunft ägyptischer Texte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck
- 1949 *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmose des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Erzeugnissen des Neuen Reiches*. Berlin: Akademie
- Grayson, A. R.
1975 *Akkadian Royal Inscriptions*, vol. 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Grelert, B.
1947 Edöm. d'après les sources égyptiennes. *Revue de l'histoire ancienne d'Égypte* 1: 69-96

Greenberg, R.

- 1943 Tell Beit Mirsim Pp. 77-166 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Grieshammer, R.

- 1977 Gezer Pp. 395-406 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Grunet, N.-C.

- 1865 *Les Termes de la Propagande royale Égyptienne, de la XIX^e dynastie à la conquête de l'Égypte*. Paris: de Boccard.

Griffith, F. J.

- 1973a Late Egyptian of Non-Literary Texts in the 19th Dynasty Pp. 67-90 in *Oriental and Occidental: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. H. A. Hoffner. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- 1973b A Note on the Hieratic Texts from Tel Sereh *Qadmonut* 1. 22. Hebrew.

Gruber, G.

- 1863 Sharhen Pp. 119B-120 in *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 3 vols., ed. W. Smith. London: Murray.

Grundlach, R.

- 1977a Expeditionen Pp. 35-59 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1977b Expeditionen Pp. 60-61 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1977c Expeditionen Pp. 61-68 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Gunnweg, H. J. G.

- 1993 *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments. Eine Religionsgeschichte Israels in biblisch-theologischer Sicht*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Gunterlock, H. G.

- 1901 Muruli's Accounts of Supplimentary Drawings with Egypt. *Revue égyptologique* 18: 57-61.
- 1902 Supplément to the Hieratic Dictionary Pp. 1-11 in *The Great Years: The 25th Century B.C. from Beyond the Desert to the Tiers*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowski. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

Haas, J., ed.

- 1990 *The Anthropology of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Hassan, I.

- 1969 *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo 5. Glückstadt: Augustin.
- 1977 The Images of Ramesses II and Amenophis II. with Reminiscences of Certain Aspects of Their Celebrations. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 97: 64-72.
- 1980 The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 80: 13-31.

Habermas, J.

- 1963 *Theorie und Praxis Sozialphilosophischer Studien*. New York: Luchterhand.
- 1977 *Knowledge and Human Interests*. London: Heinemann.

Hachmann, R.

- 1982 Die ägyptische Verwaltung in Syrien während der Amarnazeit. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 98: 1-24.

Hachmann, R., ed.

- 1983 *Frühe Phönizier im Libanon. 20 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabungen im Karmel el-Lez*. Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte und Vorderasiatische Archäologie der Universität des Saarlandes. Mainz: Rhein Landesmuseum.

- Haider, P. W.
1987 Zum Moab-Feldzug Rameses II. *Studien zur Altassyrischen Kultur* 14: 17-123.
- Hakar, A.
1990 Water Supply in Antiquity. In *Sifre Terumahavon I* Jerusalem: Bialik House.
- Hall, E. S.
1986 *The Pharaoh Smiles his Enemies: A Comparative Study*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 44. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Hall, H. R.
1913 *The Ancient History of the Near East*. London: Methuen.
1928 A Rameside Royal Statue from Palestine. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 14: 280-81.
- Halla, W. W.
1981 A Letter Fragment from Tel Aphek. *Tel Aviv* 8: 18-24.
1992 From Bronze Age to Iron Age in Western Asia: Dealing the Problem, Pp. 1-9 in *The Crisis Years, the 12th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- Halpern, B.
1983 *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan*. Chico, CA: Scholars.
1991 The Exodus from Egypt: Myth or Reality? Pp. 80-113 in *The Rise of Early Israel*, ed. H. Shanks. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society.
- Hamilton, R. W.
1974 Tell Abu Hawam (Interim Report). *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 3: 74-80.
1975 Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 4: 1-69.
- Hankey, V.
1960 Late Mycenaean Pottery at Beth Shean. *American Journal of Archaeology* 70: 109-17.
1967 Mycenaean Pottery in the Middle East. *Annuaire of the British School at Athens* 6: 1-14.
1974 A Late Bronze Age Temple at Azman: II. Vases and Objects Made of Stone. *Levant* 6: 13-18.
1986 A Sherd in the Siquar Style of Late Mycenaean IIIB. Pp. 99-103 in *Yzhen Sotikh: An Early Iron-Age Site Near Rosh Ha'ayin, Israel*. BAR International, series 299. I. Finkelstein. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Hankey, V., and Hankey, H.
1985 A Mycenaean Pictorial Krater from Lachish, Level VI. Pp. 88-99 in *Palastine in the Bronze and Iron Age: Papers in Honour of Olga Tufnell*, ed. J. N. Tubb. London: Institute of Archaeology.
- Harari, I.
1980 Social Aspects of the Treaty Signed by Ramses II and Hattusili. *Scripta* 6: 57-61.
- Harding, G. L., and Isserlin, B. S. J.
1953 An Early Iron Age Tomb at Madaba. *Palestine Exploration Fund Annual* 6: 27-41.
- Harif, A.
1978 Coastal Buildings of Foreign Origin in Second Millennium B.C. Palestine. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 110: 10-16.
1979 Common Architectural Features at Alalakh, Megiddo and Shechem. *Levant* 11: 162-167.

- Harrison, T.
99 The Central Highlands in the Early Iron Age and the Question of Moabite Origins. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Francisco, California, November 23, 199.
- Hart, S.
1985 Preliminary Report on a Survey in Edom, 1984. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 29: 255-277.
1986a Some Preliminary Thoughts on Settlement in Southern Edom. *Levant* 8: 51-58.
1986b Sela. The Rock of Edom? *Pacifique Exploration Quarterly* 1.8: 91-95.
- Hasel, M. G.
994 *Israel in the Merneptah Stela. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 296: 41-6.
- Hauptmann, A., Weingerber, G., and Knauf, E. A.
885 Archäometallurgische und bergbauarchäologische Untersuchungen im Gebiet von Beisan, West-Jordan. *Der Antike. Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur im Bergbau* 37: 163-19.
- Hayes, W. I.
1959 *The Scepter of Egypt. Part 2. The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom. 1650-1100 B.C.* New York: Harper.
1970 Chronology, Egypt, c. 3000 B.C. to the Twentieth Dynasty. Pp. 173-203. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed., vol. 1, part 1, ed. I. E. S. Edwards, C. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Hecker, K. H.
885 *Juda und Israel. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Israels in der und nach biblischen Zeit.* Würzburg: Echter.
- Heidegger, M.
962 *Being and Time.* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Helek, W.
955 Zur Geschichte der 19. und 20. Dynastie. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 105: 27-52.
956 Untersuchungen zu Minutaten und den ägyptischen Königtümern. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, 18. Berlin: Akademie.
1960 Die ägyptische Verwaltung in den griechischen Besitzungen. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft* 92: 1-14.
1963 *Minutaten zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Ägypten-Richter.* Teil 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
966 Chronologische Kleinigkeiten. *Chronique d'Égypte* 41: 233-243.
967 Eine Briefsammlung aus der Verwaltung des Apolloniopols. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 6: 133-151.
968a Die Bedeutung Palästinas nach einwandernden Gruppen am Ende der 18. und am Anfang der 19. Dynastie. *Vetus Testamentica* 18: 472-480.
1968b *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten.* Leiden: Brill.
968-69 74. Strauß von Targu-Syriens im Beginn der 18. Dynastie. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 22: 7-19.
1969 Überlegungen zur Geschichte der 18. Dynastie. *Oriens Antiqua* 8: 281-327.
97 *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
976a Gewürze. Pp. 393-403 in *Levant des Égyptologie* vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
976b Algaolen und Steine. Pp. 3-13 in *Levant des Égyptologie* vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- 1977a Fremde in Ägypten. Pp. 306-310 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 2 ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1977b Fremde, Ägypter in der. Pp. 310-31 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 2 ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1977c Fremde, Verhältnis zur. Pp. 311-312 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 2 ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1977d Handel. Pp. 943-948 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1 ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1977e Hetzner und Ägypter. Pp. 1176-1178 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1977f Historizität von Inschriften und Literatur. Pp. 1224-1226 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1977g Die Seemäcker, neben ägyptischen Quellen. *Jahrbuch der Indologie für die Geschichte der Literatur* Frankfurt A.M. Münch. Berk.
- 1980a Harter. Pp. 886-887 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1980b Jope. Pp. 269-270 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1980c Katar. Pp. 606-607 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1980d Krongefangene. Pp. 786-788 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1981 Probleme der Krongefangenen der 18. und 19. Dynastie. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Ägyptologischen Gesellschaft* Bonn 5: 1-11.
- 1982a Medet. Pp. 786-787 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1982b Merneptah. Pp. 1-11 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 4 ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1982c Saftgut. Pp. 322 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4 ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1982d Sefer. Pp. 828-829 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1983 Zur Lage der ägyptischen Chronologie. *Beilage* Pp. 1-13 in *Studien in Ägyptologie und Ägyptischer Sprache* Band 5, ed. H. Meuthen and D. Winkler. Hamburg: Buske.
- 1987 Was kann die Ägyptologie wirklich zu dem Problem der Absoluten Chronologie in der Bronzezeit beitragen. Pp. 205-211 in *Ägyptologie Heute in der Universität Göttingen, 20th-22d August 1987*, ed. P. Aström. Göttingen: Aström.
- 1988 Drei Karnesische Daten. *Studien in Ägyptischer Kultur* 17: 205-214.
- Hennessey, J. B.
1986 Excavation of a Late Bronze Age Temple at Amman. *Palestine Exploration Journal* 98: 155-162.
- Hennessey, J. B., et al.
1989 Pella. Pp. 406-441 in *Archaeology of Jordan II* Vol. 2. *Field Reports Since 1942*. *Abhandlungen Supplementum* 3, ed. D. Homay-Fredenry and J. B. Hennessey. Leuven: Peeters.
- Henry, D. O.
1989 *From Foraging to Agriculture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Hermann, A.
1938 *Die Ägyptische Königsliste*. Glückstadt: Augustin.

Herr, L. G.

- 1983a The Amman Airport Structure and the Geopolitics of Ancient Transjordan. *Biblical Archaeologist* 46: 223-229.
- 1983b *The Amman Airport Excavations, 1976*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 48. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- 1989 The Pottery Finds. Pp. 299-354 in *Madaba Plains Project: The 1984 Season at Tell el-Umeiri and Vicinity and Subsequent Studies*, ed. L. G. Herr, L. T. Geraty, O. S. LaBianca, and R. W. Younger. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University.
- 1993 The Iron Age at Tell el-Umeiri. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 19, 1993.
- 1997a The Pottery. Pp. 229-294 in *Madaba Plains Project: The 1989 Season at Tell el-Umeiri and Vicinity and Subsequent Studies*, ed. L. G. Herr, L. T. Geraty, O. S. LaBianca, R. W. Younger. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Institute of Archaeology.
- 1997b Urbanism at Tell el-Umeiri during the Late Bronze IIB-Iron IA Transition. Pp. 241-244 in *Aspects of Urbanism in Antiquity: From Mesopotamia to the Journal for the Study of the Early Iron Age*, ed. W. E. Aufrecht, N. A. Miran, and S. W. Gauley. Sheffield, JSOVI.
- 1998 Tell el-Umeiri and the Madaba Plains Region during the Late Bronze-Iron IA Transition. Pp. 251-264 in *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE. In Honor of Trude Dothan*, ed. S. Gitin, A. Mazur, and E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Herr, L. G., Geraty, L. T., LaBianca, O. S., and Younger, R. W.

- 1993 Madaba Plains Project: The 1988 Excavations at Tell el-Umeiri. *Tell el-Umeiri: A Century of Excavations, the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 46: 1-72.

Herrmann, J.

- 1998 *Furchen für ägyptische Kameien*. Oden, Hermes et Orientis: Die Furchung. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1999 *Ägyptische Amulette aus Furchen*. Oden Bibliothek Orientalis 48. Furchung. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Herrmann, S.

- 1993a Die Königsnaville in Ägypten und in Israel. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen: Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 3: 1-11.
- 93b Der Name (bzw. der Beschreibung) von Sarah. Pp. 214-216 in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. 1. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies.
- 1995 *Salome: The Light of the Egyptian Königsnaville*. Reconsidered. Pp. 111-128 in *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity*, ed. S. Israeli-Groll. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Hertzog, Z.

- 1993 Notes on New Tel Gerza. 1993 *Israel Exploration Journal* 43: 37-38.
- 1994b *Beer-Sheva II: The Early Iron Age Settlements*. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology.

Hess, R. S.

- 1991 The Divine Name Yahweh in Late Bronze Sources? *Ugarit-Forschungen* 23: 81-88.
- 1993 Early Israel in Canaan: A Survey of Recent Evidence and Interpretations. *Pottery Exploration Quarterly* 25: 125-142.

- 1994 Recent Studies in Old Testament History: A Review Article. *Thémelis* 19: 9-15
- Haggithotham, C.
1983 *The Egyptification of Ramesside Palestine*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore
- 1996 Elite Immigration and Egyptian Governance at Ramesside Canaan. *Jahrbuch* 23: 154-167
- 1998 The Egyptianizing of Canaan. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 24: 36-43, 69
- Hägg, F.
1962 Die Felsenstele Sethos' I. bei Qasr Ibrim. *Schrifttum für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 87: 31-46.
- Hackmann, D.
1980 Lanze und Speer. Pp. 275-319 in *Kriegswesen*, vol. 2 *Angewandtes*, ed. R. A. Buchholz. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht
- Hodkinson, S.
1988 Animal Husbandry in the Greek Polis. Pp. 3-74 in *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*. Supplementary vol. 14, ed. C. R. Whitaker. Cambridge: Cambridge Philosophical Society
- Hoffmeyer, J. K.
1983 Some Egyptian Motifs Related to Warfare and Enemies and Their Old Testament Counterparts. Pp. 23-31 in *Egyptology in Perspective*. A Tribute to Ronald J. Williams, *Ancient World* 4, ed. J. K. Hoffmeyer and E. S. Meltzer. Chicago: Aris
- 1989 Reconsidering Egypt's Part in the Termination of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine. *Levant* 21: 181-193
- 1990 Some Thoughts on William G. Dever's "Hyksos Egypt: Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age." *Levant* 22: 83-89
- 1991 James Weinstein: "Egypt and the Middle Bronze IB/Late Bronze IA Transition." *Revue de la Bible* 23: 117-124
- 1997 *Amarna in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Royal Tradition*. New York: Oxford University
- Hoffner, H. A. Jr.
1962 The Last Days of Khattusha. Pp. 46-52 in *The Great Years: The 12th Century B.C. from the Fall of the Hittite Empire to the Rise of the Persians*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowski. Chicago: LA. Kerkhull-Hart
- Houghton, K. G.
1994 Enclaves. Pp. 33-34 in *Peoples of the Old Testament World*, ed. A. J. R. G. G. I. Moring and E. M. Yarnall. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker
- Hultner, R.
1977 New Kingdom Pharaohs and the Pottery. The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia. 5. Land: Betings
- Hopkins, D. C.
1983 *The Highlands of Canaan: Agricultural Life in the Early Iron Age*. The Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series, 3. Sheffield: Almon
- 1993 Pastoralists in Late Bronze Age Palestine: Which Way Did They Go? *Biblical Archaeologist* 56: 200-211
- Horn, S. H.
1963 Jericho in the Topographical List of Rameses II. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12: 201-203
- 1962 Scarabs from Shechem—I. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 21: 1-14
- 1966 Scarabs and Scarab Impressions from Shechem—II. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25: 48-56

- 1968 Objects from Shechem Excavated in 1913 and 1914 *Jahrbuch ex Oriente Lux* 20: 71-91
- 1973 Scarabs and Seal Impressions from Shechem—III. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32: 281-89
- Hornung, E.
1957 Zur geschichtlichen Rolle der Könige in der 8. Dynastie *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ägypten* 5: 126-43
- 1964 *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 11 Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- 1973 *Der Eine und die Vielen: Ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft
- 1978 *Grundzüge der ägyptischen Geschichte*. 2nd ed. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft
- 1979 Chronologie in Bewegung. Pp. 14-152 in *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, 12 Mar. 1979. Ägypten und Altes Testament 1, ed. M. Görg and E. Pusch. Bonn: Gorg
- 1983 Die Geschichte des Menespaß. Pp. 224-233 in *Fontes aegyptii Philae. Eine Festschrift für H. Brunner*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 2, ed. M. Görg. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- 1987 Long oder Kurz?—Das Mittlere und Neue Reich Ägyptens als Prüfstein. Pp. 1-10 in *High Middle, or Low? Acts of the International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology held at the University of Copenhagen 20th-22nd August 1987*, ed. P. Aström. Göttingen: Assen
- 1992 *Idea into Image. Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought*. New York: Tinker
- Horowitz, W.
1984 Trouble in Canaan: A Letter of the el-Amarna Period on a Clay Cylinder from Beth Shean. *Quadrant* 27: 84-86. Hebrew
- 1985 An Inscribed Clay Cylinder from Amarna Age Beth Shean. *Israel Exploration Journal* 46: 208-218
- 1987 The Amarna Age Inscribed Clay Cylinder from Beth-Shean. *Hebrew Archaeology* 41: 97-101
- Houtwyl, van Cate, P. H. I.
1966 Morish's Northwestern Campaigns: Additional Fragments of His Comprehensive Annals. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25: 1-11
- 1983 The History of Warfare According to the Hittite Sources. The Annals of Hattusili I (Part 1). *Amstelica* 10: 91-109
- 1984 The History of Warfare According to the Hittite Sources. The Annals of Hattusili I (Part 2). *Amstelica* 11: 47-83
- Hübner, U.
1982 *Die Ammoniter. Untersuchungen in Geschichte, Kultur und Religion eines transjordanischen Volkes im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Huntinga, J.
1936 A Definition of the Concept of History. Pp. 1-10 in *Philosophy and History. Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, ed. R. Kribiansky and H. J. Paton. Cambridge: Clarendon
- Humble, R.
1980 *Warfare in the Ancient World*. London: Cassell
- Husserl, E.
1970 *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University
- Ibach, R. D., Jr.
1987 *Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region*. Hesban 5. Berne Springs, MI: Andrews University

Ibrahim, M. M.

- 1974 Second Season of Excavations at Sahab. 1975 *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 14: 35-52.
 1975 Third Season of Excavations at Sahab. 1975 *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 20: 3-32.
 1978 The Collared-rim Jar of the Early Iron Age. Pp. 117-126 in *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, ed. P. R. S. Moorey and P. J. Parr. Warminster: Arts and Phillips.
 1983 Siegel aus Siegelstempel aus Sahab. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 99: 43-5.
 1987 Sahab and Its Foreign Relations. Pp. 73-81 in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan III*, ed. A. Hadshi. Amman: Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

Israelit-Grosz, S.

- 1983 The Egypt in Administrative System in Syria and Palestine: the Bes Dynasty. A Model of the Egyptian Level. Pp. 3-43 in *Annales du Centre d'Égyptologie de l'Université de Liège*. Liège: Université de Liège.

Izre'el, S.

- 1981 Two Notes on the Gayer-Anderson Tablets. *J. of Egyptology* 4: 159-167.

Jackson, W.

- 1986 The Israel Style of Merneptah. *The Expositor* 34: 40-44.

Jacobs, R. H.

- 1973 Sociological Perspectives on the Etiology of War. Pp. 29-41 in *War, Its Causes and Consequences*, ed. M. A. Nettlehip, R. D. Givens, A. Nettlehip. The Hague: Mouton.

Jacobson, I.

- 1994 *Egyptian from Late Bronze Age to Greek*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 2. Jüdische Antiquitäten.

James, F.

- 1986 *The Iron Age at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII*. Philadelphia: University Museum.

- 1978 Chronological Findings From Late Bronze Age Beth Shan. *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, ed. R. Moorey and P. J. Parr. Warminster: Arts and Phillips.

James, F. W., and McGovern, P. E., eds.

- 1986 *The Late Bronze Egyptian Tombs at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII*. 2 vols. University Museum Monograph 83. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Jankuhn, D.

- 1973 Maat die Herrin des Westens. *Göttingen Museum* 8: 19-22.

Jansen-Winkel, K.

- 1993a Die ägyptische Königsinschrift als Texttyp. *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 83: 101-116.
 1993b The Career of the Egyptian High Priest Bakenkhons. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52: 223-241.

Janssen, J. J.

- 1961 *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs*. Leiden: Brill.
 1975a Prolegomena to the Study of Egypt's Economic History During the New Kingdom. *Studien zur ägyptischen Kultur* 3: 127-185.
 1975b *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period*. Leiden: Brill.

- 979a The Role of the Temple in the Egyptian Economy during the New Kingdom. Pp. 505-15 in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, ed. F. Lipinski. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 6. Leuven: Departement Orientalistik.
- 979b Background Information on the Smiles of Year 29 of Ramses III. *Orientalia* 18: 301-308.
- J., C. C.
1947 A Note on the Iron Age Four-room House in Palestine. *Orientalia* 16: 387-403.
- Jirku, A.
1937 *Die Ägyptischen Listen technischer und gewerblicher Objekten in I. nach alt und historisch-archäologisches Argumentar*. Klio Beiheft 38. Leipzig: Seemann.
- Johnson, J. H., and Wente, E. F., eds.
1947 *Studies in Honor of George K. Hughes*. January 1947. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Johnson, H. M.
1948 Hierarchy and the Social System. Pp. 706-11 in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 7, ed. D. L. Sills. New York: Macmillan.
- Jones, S.
1997 *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge.
- Kafifi, Z.
1983 Egyptian Topographical Lists of the Late Bronze Age in Jordan. *Historische Mitteilungen* 29: 17-2.
- Kallai, Z.
1967 *The Tribes of Israel: A Study in the Historical Geography of the Bible*. Jerusalem: Bialik Hebrew.
- Katip, K. A., and Yoffee, N.
1980 Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia During the Early Second Millennium B.C. Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 237: 85-101.
- Kaplan, J.
1972 The Archaeology and History of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. *Revue Archéologique* 35: 100-11.
- Kaplan, J., and Ritter-Kaplan, H.
1993 Jaffa. Pp. 655-659 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Kaplony-Heckel, I.
1985 Die Israel-Stele des Mer-en-Ptah. 1208 v. Chr. Pp. 544-552 in *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden. Historisch-chronologische Texte. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, vol. 1, ed. D. Conrad et al. Gutersloh: Mohr.
- Karakorghus, V., and Demas, M.
1988 *Excavations at Mina Parakastri, 1955-1986*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities of Cyprus.
- Karcz, I., and Kafri, U.
1978 Evaluation of Supposed Archaeoseismic Damage in Israel. *Journal of Anthropological Society* 5: 37-51.
- Katzstein, H. J.
1973 *The History of Tyre, Jerusalem*. Schocken Institute.
1982 Gaza in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102: 111-113.

- Käsem, E.
1935 Die Siegesteile des Pto. Pp. 5-7, 385 in *Rechts- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften: Historisch-chronologische Texte. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, vol. 1, ed. D. Conrad et al. Gutersloh: Mohr.
- Keel, O.
1977 Der Bogen als Herrschaftssymbol. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Forschung* 93: 41-177.
1980 H. Amichandani Siegeszeichen im Alten Testament. *Historiographische Studien* 10, 18-26. Ex 17, 8-11, 2 Kön 13, 14-19 und 1 Kön 22, 11, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 3. Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg am Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kees, H. A. J.
1952 Wandlungen des ägyptischen Geschichtsbildes. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 11: 1-163.
- Kelley, A. J.
1976 *The Pottery of Ancient Egypt: Dynasty I to Roman Times*. Part 3. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum.
- Kelley, A. L., ed.
1983 *Papers of the Pottery Workshop: Third International Congress of Egyptology*. Toronto: Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities.
- Kelly, K. G.
1997 Using Historically Formed Archaeology: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Hueda/European Interaction on the Coast of Benin. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4: 325-338.
- Klein, G., and Mazar, A.
1995 *Tunnah: A Biblical City on the South Valley, Winona Lake*. IN Eisenbraun.
- Klein, J. J.
1988 *The Excavations of Bethel (1934-1960)*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 39. Baltimore: American Schools of Oriental Research.
1993 Bethel. Pp. 121-134 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Kemp, B. J.
1978 Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt. Pp. 7-37, 284-297 in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, ed. P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
1989 *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. London: Routledge.
- Kempinski, A.
1973 Tell el-Agult: Beth-Aglavim or Sarabim? *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 145-152.
1978 Tel Masos: Its Importance in Relation to the Settlement of the Tribes in Israel in the Northern Negev. *Expedition* 20: 29-37.
1985 The Overlap of Cultures at the End of the Late Bronze Age and the Beginning of the Iron Age. *Exegetica* 18: 399-407. Hebrew.
1992 Middle and Late Bronze Age Fortifications. Pp. 127-142 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
1993 Agult Tel el. Pp. 41-54 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Kempinski, A., and Fritz, V.
1977 Excavations at Tel Masos: Kairbet el-Meshash. *Tel Aviv* 4: 136-158.
- Kempinski, A., and Reich, R., eds.
1992 *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Kempinski, A., et al.

- 981 Excavations at Tel Masos, 1972, 1974, 1975. *Eretz Israel* 15: 154-80. Hebrew.

Kenyon, K. M.

- 1966 *Amorites and Canaanites*. London: Oxford University.
 1969 The Middle and Late Bronze Age Strata at Megiddo. *Leam* 1: 2-64.
 1973 Palestine in the Time of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Pp. 26-55 in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed., vol. 2, part 1, ed. I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

1979 *Archaeology in the Holy Land*. 3rd ed. London: Benn.

Kenyon, K. M. Posener G. Botes: J.

- 1971 Syria and Palestine c. 1800-1780 B.C. Pp. 567-594 in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed., vol. 1, part 1, ed. I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Kepecs, S.

- 1997 Introduction to New Approaches to Combining Archaeological and Historical Records. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4: 193-98.

Khalil, J.

- 1984 Metallurgical Analysis of Some Weapons from Tell el-Apud. *Leam* 16: 167-70.

Kilian, K.

- 1980 Zum Ende der mykenischen Epoche in der Argolis. *Jahrbuch des Römisch Germanischen Zentral Museums Mainz* 27: 166-191.
 1988 Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1982/3. *Archaeologische Anzeiger* 103: 51.

Kunier Wilson, J. V.

- 1962 The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III. *Iraq* 24: 90-115.

Kuchel, K. A.

- 1991 Some New Light on the Asiatik Wars of Ramesses II. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50: 4-10.
 1965 Theban Topographical Lists, Old and New. *Orientalia* 34: 1-4.
 1966a Historical Method and Early Hebrew Tradition. *Israel Bulletin* 17: 63-97.
 1966b *The Ancient Orient and the Old Testament*. Chicago: Inter-Varsity.
 1968 Further Notes on New Kingdom Chronology and History. *Chronique d'Égypte* 43: 313-324.
 1969 Interrelations of Egypt and Syria. Pp. 27-91 in *La Syrie au Tardo Bronze*, ed. M. Laverant. Rome: Centro per le Antichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente.
 1975a Forward. Pp. viii-xi in *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt c. 1500-664 B.C.*, M. L. Bierbner. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
 1975b Review of SEGMENT 1. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 63: 1-2.
 1976 Two Notes on Ramesside History. *Oriens Antiquus* 15: 313-314.
 1977-78 Review of Johnson and Wente 1977. *Scraps* 4: 65-80.
 1982 *Rome in the Near East. Historical and Bibliographical*. 4 vols. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.
 1983 *Pharaoh's Triumphs: The Life and Times of Ramesses II*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
 1984 A Note on the Baal-hati Texts in New Kingdom Temples. Pp. 547-560 in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens (Festschrift W. Westendorf)*, vol. 1, ed. F. Junge. Göttingen: Hubert.
 1988 Review of Ahern 1984. *Chronique d'Égypte* 63: 102-111.

- 1987 The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in the Bronze Age. Pp. 37-55 in *High Middle or Low? Acts of the International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology held at the University of Gothenburg 15th-22nd August 1987*, ed. P. Aström. Gothenburg: Aström.
- 1989a Supplementary Notes on "The Basics of Egyptian Chronology." Pp. 1-52 in *High Middle or Low? Acts of the International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology held at the University of Gothenburg 15th-22nd August 1987*. Part 3, ed. P. Aström. Gothenburg: Aström.
- 1989b Review of M. Cheval 1985. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75: 276-277.
- 1992a Egypt, History of Chronology. Pp. 322-331 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- 1992b The Egyptian Evidence for Ancient Iron. Pp. 21-34 in *Early Iron and Metal: The Beginning of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 7, ed. P. Bienkowski. Sheffield: Collins.
- 1993a *Ramesseid Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated Translations*, vol. I. Oxford: Blackwell.
- 1993b Review of Sommer 1989. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79: 303-304.
- 1993c *Ramesseid Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated Translations*, vol. II. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kienig, H.
1974 "Hundertjahre" in Hain. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 1: 10-14.
- Kienigsmann, F.
1911 *Festschrift. Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Knauff, A. B.
1981 Response: Independence, Imperialism, and the Egyptian Factor. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 177: 61-68.
- 1982 Independence and Imperialism. Politico-economic Structures in the Bronze Age Levant. Pp. 83-98 in *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnology*, ed. A. B. Knauff. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- 1984a Bronze Age Trade Patterns in the Eastern Mediterranean. *Archaeometry and Bronze Age Studies*. Pp. 27-39 in *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June-July 1990*, ed. A. Biran and J. Aviram. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- 1984b *Annals and Politics: Bronze Age Egypt in Annals Perspective*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.
- Knauf, E. A.
1985 Beirut and Hama. *Leitungen Mesopotamien* 15: 48.
- 1988a *Muharrir. Eine Geschichte von Geschichte, Literatur und Nordafrika am Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1988b *Supplementa Israhelica. Bibliche Notizen* 5: 67-8.
- 1992a Toponyms and Toponymy. Pp. 601-605 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 6, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- 1992b The Cultural Impact of Secondary State Formation: The Cases of the Elamites and Medes. Pp. 1-11 in *Early Iron and Metal: The Beginning of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 7, ed. P. Bienkowski. Sheffield: Collins.
- Knauf, E. A. and Lenzen, C.
1989 Review of Ahlström 1984. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 105: 1-4.

- Knauf-Bellert, E. A.
 1983 *Exodus: The Social and Economic History*. Pp. 93-110. *You Shall Not Abuse an Exemite for He is Your Brother: Exile and Slavery in History and Tradition*. Archaeology and Biblical Studies 3, ed. D. V. Edelman. Atlanta: Scholars.
- Kirchhof, A.
 1861 *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua. Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*. 13. Lieferung. Leipzig: Harze.
- Knudtzon, J. A.
 1913 *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Kochavi, M.
 1978 Canaanite Aphex. In *Acropolis and Inscriptions. Expedition 11*. 13, 2.
 1980 Fünf Grabungskampagnen am Tel Aphex/Antipatris. *Israel Hith* 11: 40-47.
 1981 The History and Archaeology of Aphex-Antipatris. *Biblical Archaeologist* 44: 3-10.
 1990 *Aphex in Canaan. The Egyptian Governor, His Office and Its Finds* (Israel Museum Catalog 312). Jerusalem: Israel Museum.
- Kochavi, M., et al.
 1974 *Aphex-Antipatris 1974-1977: The Inscriptions*. Tel Aviv: University Institute of Archaeology.
- Koehler, L., Baumgartner, W., and Stamm, J. J.
 1900 *Hebraisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*. Lieferung 4. Leipzig: Brill.
- Kühnert, A.
 1963 The Warfare of the Hittites—From the Legal Point of View. *Isis* 25: 154-161.
- Kramer, S. N.
 1937 Pot and People. Pp. 1-14. In *Mesopotamia and Her Land: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 7, ed. L. D. Levine and T. C. Young, Jr. Malibu: Undena.
- Krauss, R.
 1981 Merneptah. Pp. 1-20. In *Israel in Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1985 Sethi und Mondaten. Studien zur astronomischen und technischen Chronologie altägyptischer. H. Wieschmeier. Ägyptologische Beiträge 3. Hildesheim: Weitzberg.
 1989a Notes on Modern Computational Errors in Astronomical Dating. Pp. 160-172. In *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium of Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg, 20th-22d August 1987*. Part 3, ed. P. Åström. Gothenburg: Aströms.
 1989b Alte und neue Korrekturen zu Ramses-A. Wenn Ägypten Calendar Equivalent? *Göttinger Mitteilungen* 109: 34-40.
- Krecher, J., and Müller, H.-P.
 1973 Vergangenheitssuteresse in Mesopotamien. In *Israel Sacrum* 20: 13-44.
- Kruchten, J.-M.
 1982 L'écriture et l'écriture dans un texte royal du début de l'époque ramesside: la stèle de l'an I de Sethi Ier découverte à Beth-Shean. *Annales de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 26: 21-62.
 1994 Quelques passages difficiles de la stèle d'Israël. *Göttinger Mitteilungen* 40: 97-101.
- Kugel, J. I.
 1981 *The Idea of Biblical Poetry. Parallelism and its History*. New Haven: Yale University.

- Kugler, J.
1994 Propaganda oder performativer Speechakt? *Göttinger Mitteilungen* 142: 83-92.
- Kuschke, A.
1958 Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Bika'. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 74: 6-120.
1959 Das Terrain der Schlacht bei Qadesh und die Anmarschwege Ramses II. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 94: 35.
1984a Qadesh. Pt. 1. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, ed. W. Heick and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
1984b Qadesh. Schacht Pt. 1. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 5, ed. W. Heick and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kyle, M. G.
1908 Some Geographical and Ethnical Lists of Ramses II in the Temple of Luxor. *Revue de l'Égypte relative à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne* 31: 1-13.
- LaBianca, G. S.
1990 *Identifying, Dating and Reconstructing*. Hesburg, I. Bernen Springs, NJ: Institute of Archaeology and Archaeology University.
- LaBianca, G. S., and Younger, R. W.
1997 The Ku-gi-ko-ah of Ammon, Moab, and Edom: The Archaeology of Society in Late Bronze Iron Age Transjordan. In *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. E. Levy. Leicester: Leicester University.
- LaCapra, D.
1986 Comment. *Near Eastern History* 17: 219-222.
- Lambdin, T. O.
1953 Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 73: 145-155.
- Lamon, R. S., and Shipton, G. M.
1949 *Megiddo I*. Oriental Institute Publications 12. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Laurence, Harding, G.
1958 Recent Discoveries in Jordan. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 90: 7-18.
- Landes, G. M.
1961 *A History of the Amorites*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
- Landsberger, O., and Tadmor, M.
1964 Fragments of Clay Laver Models from Hazor. *Israel Exploration Journal* 14: 201-218.
- Laneron, S., and Gardiner, A. H.
1920 The Treaty of Alliance Between Hattusili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramses II of Egypt. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6: 179-205.
- Lapp, N.
1968 *The Third Campaign at Tell el-Fel: The Excavations of 1964*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 45. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Lapp, P. W.
1966 *The Dhat el-Mughhamrah Tomb: Three Intermediate Bronze Age Cemeteries in Jordan*. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.
1967a The Conquest of Palestine in the Light of Archaeology. *Concordia Theological Monthly* 38: 81-100.
1967b The 1966 Excavations at Tell Ta'annek. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 185: 2-39.

- 1969 The 1968 Excavations at Tell Ta'annek. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 195: 2-49.
- Lecant, J.
1980 Les Empreintes et l'imperialisme de l'Égypte pharaonique. Pp. 49-68 in *Le concept d'Empire*, ed. M. Duverger. Paris: Universitaires de France.
- Lemaire, A.
1973 Azael, m'l, Israël et l'origine de la confédération israhélite. *Vetus Testamentum* 23: 239-243.
1992 Epigrapha Transjordan. Pp. 361-368 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Lemche, N. P.
1985 *Early Israel: Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society Before the Monarchy*. Vetus Testamentum, Supplement 37. Leiden: Brill.
1988 *Ancient Israel: A New History of Israelite Society*. Sheffield: Sheffield JSOT.
1991 *The Canaanites and Their Land: The Biblical Tradition of the Canaanites* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 14). Sheffield: JSOT.
1992 History of Israel: Premonarchic Period. Pp. 326-347 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 3, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
1994 Chasidim Among the Muses? Kent W. Whitaker on the History of Palestine: A Review and Commentary. *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 10: 88-114.
- Leonard, A., Jr.
1971 Kariyat es-Samra: A Late Bronze Age Cemetery in Transjordan. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 234: 53-63.
1976 Kariyat es-Samra: A Late Bronze Age Cemetery in Transjordan. *Annals of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 2: 1-10.
1987 The Significance of the Mycenaean Pottery Found East of the Jordan River. Pp. 9-36 in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan III*, ed. A. Haldé. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
1989 The Late Bronze Age. *Biblische Archaeologie* 52: 4-39.
1991 An Index to the Late Bronze Agean Pottery from Samra. *Excavation Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 114. Jonsenred: Astoria.
- Lesko, J. H.
1980 The Ways of Rameses III. *Sinai* 6: 83-96.
1990 Some Comments on Egyptian Literature of the Late Period. Pp. 456-467 in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, vol. 2, ed. S. Israelit-Croll. Jerusalem: Magnes.
1992 Egypt in the 12th Century B.C. Pp. 151-156 in *The Crisis Years: the 12th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowski. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- Lesko, L. H., ed.
1982-90 *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*. 5 vols. Berkeley, CA: Scribe.
- Levy, T. E., and Holl, A. F. C.
1995 Social Change and the Archaeology of the Holy Land. Pp. 2-8 in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. E. Levy. Leicester: Leicester University.
- Levy, T. E., ed.
1991 *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. Leicester: Leicester University.
- Lichtheim, G.
1965 The Concept of Ideology. *History and Theory* 4: 164-95.

Lachtheim, M.

- 1971-72 Have the Principles of Ancient Egyptian Metrics Been Discovered? *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 7: 103-110
 1976 *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. 1. The New Kingdom. Berkeley: University of California.

Lachowicz, H.

- 1967 Harem, a New Kingdom Art and the Date of an Ivory from Megiddo. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 1: 101-114
 1977 Notes and News: Tel Yin'am. *Israel Exploration Journal* 27: 1-4
 1978 Notes and News: Tel Yin'am. *Israel Exploration Journal* 28: 193-94
 1980 Military and Feast Scenes on Late Bronze Palestine Ivories. *Israel Exploration Journal* 30: 1-14
 1981 Excavations at Tel Yinnat: The 1976 and 1977 Seasons: Preliminary Report. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 243: 79-115
 1982 Tel Yinnat: 1982-1983 Excavations and Surveys in Israel 1: 113-114
 1983 Tel Yinnat: 1983-1984 Excavations and Surveys in Israel 4: 116-117
 1984 Late Bronze II Ivory Work in Palestine: Evidence of a Cultural Highpoint. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 265: 3-24
 1985-86 Tel Yinnat—1986 Excavations and Surveys in Israel 6: 102
 1988-89 Tel Yinnat—1987/1988 Excavations and Surveys in Israel 7-8: 185
 1989 Report on I.B. 118 Ivories and the Megiddo Culture of the Late Bronze Age. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 275: 63-64
 1989-90 Tel Yinnat—1989 Excavations and Surveys in Israel 9: 110
 1993 Tel Yinnat. Pp. 151-160 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Lachner, M.

- 1992 Edom Outside the Famous Excavations: Evidence from Surveys in the Greater Petra Area. Pp. 143-146 in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant*, Shehela Yaron, ed. M. Lachner. Tel Aviv: P. Benkewski. Sheffield: 1992.

Laveram, M.

- 1973 Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts. *Orientalia* 42: 1-10
 1987 The Collapse of the Near Eastern Regional System at the End of the Bronze Age: The Case of Syria. Pp. 26-41 in *Culture and Peoples in the Ancient World*, ed. M. Rowlands, M. Lavan, and K. Kristiansen. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
 1988 *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1400 B.C.* Parkyn, Sargon SRJ.

Lewak, R.

- 1992 Sharhen. Pp. 1163-1165 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.

Lofgren, G.

- 1989 A Comparison of Two Contemporaneous Lifestyles of the Second Millennium B.C. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 279: 37-55.

Lorton, D.

- 1971-72 Review of Givon [97]. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 9: 147-54.
 1973 The So-Called Vice-Emirs of the King of Egypt. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 10: 65-70
 1974a *The Judicial Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.

19. 4b Terminology Related to the Laws of Warfare in Dan. XI III *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 5: 6-8
- Loud, G.
1939 *The Megiddo Hoards*. Chicago: University of Chicago
- Lowth, R.
1913 *De sacris poesi Hebraeorum. Praelectiones academicae Oxoni*. Oxoni: Clarendon.
- Luckenbill, D. D.
1924 *The Annals of Sennacherib*. Oriental Institute Publications 2. Chicago: University of Chicago
- Lukacs, G.
1923 *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein. Studien über marxistische Dialektik*. Berlin: Volk.
- Lury, J.
1896 *Geschichte der Edomiter im biblischen Zeitalter*. Berlin: Weichselmann
- Ma'aveh, F. S.
1960 Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Jordan. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 4-5: 114-116
- Marshall, R. A. S.
1912a *The Excavation of Gezer* vol. 1. London: Murray
1912b *The Excavation of Gezer* vol. 2. London: Murray
1912c *The Excavation of Gezer* vol. 3. London: Murray
- MacDonald, B.
1992a *Southern Ghass and Northeast Arabia Archaeological Survey*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 3. Sheffield: 1 edite
1992b Evidence from the Wadi el-Hassa and Southern Ghass and North-east Arabia Archaeological Survey. Pp. 1-142 in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 7, ed. P. Beukowski. Sheffield: College
1992c Edom: Archaeology of Edom. Pp. 105-107 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* vol. 2, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday
- MacDonald, B., ed.
1988 *The Wadi el-Hassa Archaeological Survey 1987-1988*. Ann Arbor: Jordan. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University
- MacDonald, E., Starkey, J. L., and Harding, G. J.
1952 *Beth Peor: A Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Research Account* 12. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt
- Mackay, E. J. H. and Murray, M. A.
1952 *Ancient Gezer V*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt
- Maderma-Sieben, A.
1949 Der historische Abschnitt des Papyrus Harris I. *Leitungen Museen* 123: 57-58.
- Maier, A. M.
1988-89 Remarks on a Supposed Egyptian Residence at Gezer. *Ze. Arch* 15-16: 1-10
- Magen, I.
1973 Summary. Pp. 143-150 in *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster
- Masler, Mazar, B.
1951 The Stratification of Tell Abu Hawam on the Bay of Acre. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 4: 1-25
1952 Yuzza. The Identification of Tell Jemmeh. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 84: 48-51

- Maksoud, M. A. et al.
 1987 Une nouvelle forteresse sur la route d'Horus Tell Heboua 1986 Nord Sinaï), *Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 9: 13-16.
- Malamat, A.
 1975 Doctrines of Casualty in Hittite and Biblical Historiography: A Parallel *Velus Testamentum* 5: 1-12.
 1961 Campaigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV to Canaan. Pp. 2-12-24 in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ed. C. Rabin. Jerusalem: Magnes.
 197 The Egyptian Descent to Canaan and the Sea Peoples. In *The World History of the Jewish People. First Series: Ancient Times*, vol. 3, Judges, ed. B. Mazar. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University.
 1979 The Great Conquest of War and the Conquest of Canaan: According to the Biblical Tradition. Pp. 3-12 in *Studies in Semitic Languages Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900-1975)*, ed. F. M. Cross. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
 1982a How Inferior Is the Bible to Contemporary Excavated Canaanite Cities. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8: 2-15.
 1982b Silver, Gold and Precious Stones from Hazor—Trade and Treasure in a New Man Document. *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33: 71-79.
- Malbran-Labat, F.
 1982 *L'armée et l'organisation militaire de l'Israël d'après les lettres des Sénonites, trouvées à Ninive*. *Hautes études orientales* 19. Geneva: Librairie Droz.
- Mannheim, K.
 1968 *Identity and Ideology*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World.
- Mason, D. W.
 1992 *Tirana Place*. Pp. 1-12 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 6, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Mare, W. H.
 1981 1980 Survey of Abila of the Decapolis (Quwailbeh). *Labor Annua* 31: 34-35.
 1982 The 1982 Archaeological Excavation at Abila-Quwailbeh. *Labor Annua* 32: 1-19.
- Martín, L.
 1982 *Between Arab and Kurds: A History of Frontier Settlement and Land Use in the High Lebanon*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Margauth, O.
 1960 On the Origin and Antiquity of the Name "Israel." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 72: 225-237.
 1964 *The Sea Peoples and the Old Testament*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1995 Where Did the Philistines Come From? *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 107: 101-109.
- Margueron, J.
 1961 Aux marches de l'empire hittite: une campagne de fouille à Tell Fakous. *Série: Études de pays d'Asie*. Pp. 1-46 in *La Série du Bronze Récent*, tome 15. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Marks, A. E., ed.
 1968 *Preliminary and Postliminary in the Central Valley of Israel*. 3 vols. Dallas: Southern Methodist University.
- Mathias, V. T., and Parr, P. J.
 1989 The Early Phases at Tell Nebi Mend: A Preliminary Account. *Levant* 21: 3-32.

- Mathieu, B.
1964 *Études de métrique égyptienne III. Une innovation métrique dans une "liturgie" Thébaine du nouvel empire. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 45: 139-144.*
- Matouk, F.
1977 *Corpus du Sarcophage égyptien*. 2 vols. Beirut: Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Libanaise.
- Mattingly, G. L.
1967 The Culture-Historical Approach and Moabite Origins. Pp. 53-64 in *East and West: the Beginning of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs, ed. P. Birkbeck. Sheffield: Collins.
1994 *Moabites*. Pp. 27-33 in *Profits of the Soil: The Ancient World*, ed. A. J. Hordis, G. L. Mattingly, and E. M. Yamauchi. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.
- Maxwell-Hyslop, R.
1940 Daggers and Swords in Western Asia: A Study from Prehistoric Times to 600 B.C. *Iraq* 8: 1-65.
- Mayer, W.
1965 *Foliot und Krugbuch der Assyrer*. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens 9. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Mayer, E., and Mayer-Opißens, R.
1961 Die Schlacht bei Qarqar. Der Versuch einer neuen Rekonstruktion. *Leipziger Forschungen* 26: 321-368.
- Mazar, A.
1981 Giloh, An Early Israelite Settlement Site Near Jerusalem. *Israel Exploration Journal* 31: 1-36.
1985a Excavations at Tel Qasbi Part One: The Phoenician Sanctuary. Various Finds of the Pottery. Conclusions. Appendixes. Qasbi 20. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
1985b The Emergence of the Phoenician Material Culture. *Israel Exploration Journal* 35: 95-107.
1986a The Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean in 1984-1985. *Exc. Israel* 21: 197-211. Hebrew.
1986b *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible 14000-580 B.C.E.* New York: Doubleday.
1988 Iron Age I and II Towers at Giloh and the Israelite Settlement. *Israel Exploration Journal* 40: 77-101.
1992 Temples of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and the Iron Age. Pp. 151-167 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
1993a Beth-Shean in the Iron Age: Preliminary Report and Conclusions of the 1990-1991 Excavations. *Israel Exploration Journal* 43: 201-229.
1993b The Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean in 1983, 1984. Pp. 106-149. *Biblical Archaeology Today: 1990: Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology*. Jerusalem: June 1990-1991, ed. A. Biran and J. Aviram. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
1993c Beth-Shean. Pp. 214-223 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
1995 The Fortifications of Cities in the Ancient Near East. Pp. 152-153 in *Contributions of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 5, ed. J. M. Sasson. New York: Simon and Schuster/Macmillan.
1996 Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel. Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June.

- 997a Four Thousand Years of History at Beth-Shean: An Account of the Renewed Excavations. *Biblical Archaeology* 60:1-6.
- 997b Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel. Letter October 28, 1991.
- Mazar, B.
- 981a The Early Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 15: 1-85.
- 981b Yahweh Came Out from Sinai. Pp. 25-31: *Temple and High Places in Biblical Times*, ed. A. Biran. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- McKen, T. L.
- 986 A Syrian Fortress of the Bronze Age at-Qitar. *Nabataean Geographic Research* 7:4: 418-440.
- 992 Twelfth Century B.C. Syria. Comments on H. Saner's Paper. Pp. 64-173 in *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- McGovern, P. F.
- 981a Bag'ah Valley Project 1980. *Biblical Archaeology* 34: 126-28.
- 981b Bag'ah Valley Project 1981. *Liber Annus* 51: 329-332.
- 981c Late Bronze Palestinian Pottery: Innovation in a Continuity Age. JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 1. Sheffield: JSOT.
- 981d *The Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of Central Transjordan: The Bag'ah Valley Project 1979-1981*. Philadelphia: University Museum.
- 987a Central Transjordan in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages: An Alternative Hypothesis of Socio-Economic Transformation and Collapse. Pp. 267-273 in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan III*, ed. A. Hadidi. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 987b Silicate Industries of Late Bronze-Early Iron Age Palestine: Technological Interaction between the New Kingdom Egypt and the Levant. Pp. 1-14 in *Early Vessel Materials*, ed. M. Binham and I. C. Freestone. British Museum Occasional Papers 56. London: British Museum.
- 1989a Ceramic and Craft Interaction: The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shean. Pp. 1-17 in *Excavations and Archaeological Interactions in Israel*, ed. P. F. McGovern. *Ceramics and Civilization* 4, ed. W. D. Kingery. Westerville, OH: American Ceramic Society.
- 990 The Ultimate Attire: Jewelry from a Canaanite Temple at Beth Shean. *Expedition* 32: 16-23.
- 996 Technological Innovation and Artistic Achievement in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages of Central Transjordan. *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 1: 89.
- McGovern, P. F., Fleming, S. J., and Swann, C. P.
- 993 The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shean: Glass and Faience Production and Importation in the Late New Kingdom. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 296-91: 1-28.
- McNicol, A., Edwards, P. C., Hambury-Tenison, J., Hennessey, J. B., Potts, T. F., Smith, R. H., Wainwright, A., and Wainwright, P.
- 992 *Pella in Jordan* 2, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 2. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Meiggs, R.
- 98 *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Mendenhall, G. F.
- 982 The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine. *Biblical Archaeology* 25: 66-87.
- 973 *The Tenth Generation: The Origin of the Biblical Tradition*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.

- 1976 Change and Decay in All Around 1 Sam. Conquest Covenant and the Tenth Generation. *Biblical Archaeology* 39: 15-27.
- 1978 Between Theology and Archaeology: problems for the study of the Old Testament? 18-34.
- 1983 Ancient Israel's Hyphenated History. Pp. 9-93 in *Palestine in Transition. The Emergence of Ancient Israel*, ed. D. N. Freedman and D. Graf. Sheffield: Almond.
- Mertins, E. H.
1995 The Late Bronze/Early Iron Age Transition and the Emergence of Israel. *Bibliotheca Sacra* 152: 145-162.
- Meyer, E.
1980 *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarn*. Halle: Niemeyer.
1978 *Geschichte der Altertums II*. Stuttgart: Cotta'sche.
- Meyers, C.
1978 The Roots of Restrictive Women in Early Israel. *Biblical Archaeologist* 41: 91-103.
- Meza, A. J.
1993 An Egyptian Statuette in Petra. *Annual for the Department of Antiquities, Jordan* 27: 427-431.
- Michal, E.
1949 Die Älter-Texte Salmanassar III. *BAB. R.* 3: 18-20. Text TII 1.13-5. Fortsetzung. *Die Welt der Orient* 2: 21-2.
- 1954 Die Älter-Texte Salmanassar III. *BAB. R.* 4: 32. Text TII 2.4: 6. Fortsetzung. *Die Welt der Orient* 2: 2-4.
- Millard, M. L. and Thomas, S. I.
197 Domestic Violence Since and International Warfare. Pp. 31-48 in *Life, Justice and Correlates*, ed. M. A. Neidshup, R. D. Givens, A. Neidshup. The Hague: Mouton.
- Midant-Reynes, B. and Brauwein-Silvestre, E.
1977 Le Chameau en Egypte. *Orientalia* 40: 337-362.
- Milix, J. T., and Cross, F. M.
1974 Limestone Javelinheads from the Period of the Judges: A Recent Discovery in Palestine. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 134: 3-15.
- Millard, A. R.
1973 The Canaanites. Pp. 29-52 in *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Miller, J. M.
1976 The Amsehte Heupah in Canaan. Pp. 21-28 in *Israelite and Judahite History*, ed. J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller. London: Westminster-NM.
1979 Archaeological Survey of Central Moab 1978. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 134: 43-2.
- 1984 Site Identification: A Problem Area in Contemporary Biblical Scholarship. *Journal of the American Biblical Association* 82: 1-20.
- 1989 Moab and the Moabites. Pp. 1-11 in *Studies in the Moabite Inscription and Moab*, ed. A. Dearman. Atlanta: Scholars.
- 1991 Is it Possible to Write a History of Israel without Relying on the Hebrew Bible? Pp. 1-12 in *The Future of History: Texts, Archaeology and Israel's Past*. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series* 127, ed. D. V. Edelman. Sheffield: JSOT.
- 1992a Moab. Pp. 882-893 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 4, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.

- 992b Early Monarchy in Moab? Pp. 77-91 in *Faiths Eden and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant*, Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 7, ed. P. Brinkowski. Sheffield: Colins.
- Miller, J. M., ed.
991 *Archaeological Survey of the Kerak Plateau*. Atlanta: Scholars.
- Miller, J. M., and Hayes, J. H.
986 *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Morrison, W. J.
981 *Theories of Imperialism*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Monier, P.
985 *Les Reliques de l'An Syrien dans l'Égypte du Nouv. Empire*. Paris: Belles Lettres.
991 *Le Dieu à 4 bras. Essai sur la pénétration des cultes en Égypte*. Paris: Cerf.
990 *De l'Égypte à Qadesh*. In: *Ramesses II. Révue historique* 18: 139-15.
988a *Lives of the Pharaohs*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
988b *Egypt and the Bible*. Philadelphia: Fortress.
981 *Pharaoh's Life in Egypt in the Days of Ramesses the Great*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Moor, J. C. de.
990 *The Rise of Yahwism: The Roots of Jewish Monotheism: How and when? A Phlemerium Theologicarum Lovaniensium 91*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Moran, W. L.
992 *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- Moritz, S.
973 *Egyptian Religion*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.
- Morrison, M. A.
992 *Humana*. Pp. 335-338 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 3, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Morschauer, S.
990 *Observation of the Specimens of Ramesses II in the Literary Record of the Battle of Kadesh*. Pp. 123-206 in *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh*, ed. H. Goedicke. Baltimore: Hugo.
991 86 (1) *Le Plancher d'Osiris*. *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 7: 28.
988 *The Mighty Sword of Pharaoh: Egypt's Armies and the Land of Canaan*.
- Morris, W. H.
992 *The Report of the Director of the School in Jerusalem*. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 140: 4.
957 *Elabari*. *Revue Biblique* 64: 221-231.
981 *A Summary of the 1964 and 1965 Excavations at Elabari*. Pp. 23-246 in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab*, ed. A. Dearman. Atlanta: Scholars.
- Moscarella, O. W.
989 *Warfare at Hasanlu in the Late 9th Century B.C.* *Expedition* 31: 24-36.
- Moscati, S.
963 *Historical Art in the Ancient Near East*. Studi semitici 8. Rome: Centro di studi semitici.
- Muhl, J. D.
992 *The Crisis Years in the Mediterranean World: Transition or Cultural Disintegration?* Pp. 10-26 in *The Crisis Year: the 12th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky. Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt.
- Müller, D.
961 *Der gute Hirte. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte ägyptischer Bildrede*. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 88: 126-34.

- Mader, H. W.
 1987 *Der Waffenfund von Bausenichen und die Schlüsselwörter*. Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Mayer, W. M.
 1893 *Ägypten und Europa nach den ägyptischen Denkmälern*. Leipzig: Engelmann.
 1907 *Die Palastnabe Thutmosis III*. *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 7: 1-40.
 1910 *Egyptological Researches II*. Washington: Carnegie Institution.
- Mayer-Winkel, C.
 1987 *Die ägyptische Objekt-Analyse: Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica* 5. Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Mayer-Wollermann, R.
 1983 *Bemerkungen zu vier sogenannten Inbuden*. *Göttinger Miszellen* 81: 93.
- Mumford, G.
 1981a *The Nature and Distribution of Egyptian Artifacts in Syria Palestine I*. 1982 coming. B.C.E. Dissertation in progress, The University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Muramatsu, W. J.
 1975 The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Correspondence with Seti I. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 34: 153-190.
 1975-76 The Accession Date of Seti I. *Snapu* 3: 33-33.
 1977 *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 40. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
 1983 *The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Seti I at Karnak*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 42. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
 1990 *The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Seti I at Karnak*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 42. 2nd ed. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
 1992 History of Egypt 1800-1825. Pp. 318-333 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Myszweski, K.
 1984 Iconographic, Literary and Political Aspects of the Ancient Egyptian Gods: Their Relations with the Monarchy. Pp. 1-200 in *Monarchy and State Religious Traditions in the Ancient Near East*, ed. H. H. Prince T. Mikasa. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Nadav, N.
 1975 *The Political Disposition and Historical Development of Israel: Aspects According to the Amarna Letters*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation: Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv.
 1977 *Yonadab*. *Zion* 42: 168-77.
 1981 Economic Aspects of the Egyptian Occupation of Canaan. *Israel Exploration Journal* 31: 1-28.
 1992 Amarna Letters. Pp. 174-181 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
 1994a The "Conquest of Canaan" in the Book of Joshua and in History. Pp. 78-281 in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, ed. I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
 1994b The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine. *Livian* 26: 17-18.
 1994c The Canaanites and Their Land: A Rejoinder. *Israel Forschungen* 26: 393-408.

- Nagel, G.
 938 *La chronique du nouvel empire à Deir el Medinet. Tome I Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Tome 0. Cairo. Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.*
- Nave, J.
 903 *Die vorrömischen Schmelzen aus Kupfer, Bronze und Eisen. Munich. Pflüger and Lochle.*
- Naumann, R.
 971 *Architektonik Kleinasien. Tübingen: Wasmuth.*
- Naville, E.
 915 *Did Menephtah Invade Syria? Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 2: 15-20.*
- Negbi, O.
 910 *The Hoards of Goldwork from Tell el-'Apel. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 1: Göteborg: Astrom.*
 990 *Metallworking in the Central Jordan Valley at the Transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Eretz Israel 21: 212-225. Hebrew.*
 1991 *Were There Sea Peoples in the Central Jordan Valley at the Transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age? Tel Aviv 18: 205-243.*
- Nettleship, M. A.
 913 *Definitio. In: War in Canaan and Correlation, ed. M. A. Nettleship, R. D. Givens, A. Nettleship. The Hague: Mouton.*
- Nettleship, M. A., Givens, B. D., and Nettleship, A.
 1973 *War in Canaan and Correlation. The Hague: Mouton.*
- Neu, R.
 1992 *Von der Anarchie zum Staat. Entstehungsgeschichte Israels vom Nomadismus zur Monarchie im Spiegel der Ethnozoologie. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener.*
- Night, A.
 1953 *Canaan and Canaanite in Ancient Egypt. Hawksworth, Bexarcho.*
- Nissen, K.
 986 *Inschrift des Amenhotep IV. in Tel-el-Amarna. Suppl. 38. Leiden: Brill.*
- Noth, M.
 91 *Die Wege der Philistenen in Palästina und Syrien. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins 60: 183-239.*
 941 *Die Wege der Philistenen in Palästina und Syrien. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins 61: 1-10.*
 1943 *Die Arbeiter. Die Arbeiter III als Gewerkschaft. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins 62: 1-10.*
 1948 *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.*
 1953 *Das Buch Josua. Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Erste Reihe 7. Tübingen: Mohr.*
 1960 *The History of Israel. New York: Harper and Brothers.*
 1965 *Das System des Alten Testaments. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.*
 1971 *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde II. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener.*
- Oates, D.
 1987 *Excavations at Tell Brak 1981-86. Iraq 49: 175-191.*
- Ockinga, B.
 1987 *On the Interpretation of the Kadesh Record. Chronique d'Égypte 62: 38-48.*
- Oettinger, N.
 1976 *Die militärische Ende der Hebräer. Studien zur den Bogazköy-Texten 22. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.*

- Ofer, A.
 1993 *The Highland of Judah During the Rubina Period*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Tel Aviv University. Hebrew.
 1994 "At the Hill Country of Judah": From a Settlement Fringe to a Prosperous Monarchy. Pp. 92-121 in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, ed. I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Ohara, M.
 1966 *Tel Zor I*. Tokyo: Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan.
 1970 *Tel Zor III*. Tokyo: Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan.
- Olavart, J.
 1983 La Campagne de fouilles 1982 a Khirbet Medinet al-Mu'arradieh pres de Siquan et Kerak. *Annuaire du Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 17: 174-77.
- Oren, E. D.
 964 Egyptian Imports in Palestinian Late Bronze Age Context. *Opuscula Archaeologica* 17: 27-31.
 972 *Tel Sera: A Biblical City on the Edge of the Negev*. BeerSheva: Ben Gurion University of the Negev.
 973a *The Northern Cemetery at Tell Sheva*. Leiden: Brill.
 973b Notes and News. Bar el-Abel Northern Sinai. *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 1-13.
 981 Egyptian New Kingdom Sites in Northern Sinai. *Qadmonot* 13: 26-34. Hebrew.
 984a Migdol: A New Fortress on the Edge of the Eastern Nile Delta. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 256: 7-44.
 984b "Governors' Residences" in Canaan under the New Kingdom: A Case Study in Egyptian Administration. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 14: 37-50.
 987 The "Ways of Horus" in North Sinai. Pp. 1-6 in *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period*, ed. A. F. Rainey. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.
 992 Pillars and Pithoi: Houses in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Pp. 105-120 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
 993a Sera', Tel. Pp. 1329-1335 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
 993b Sinai, Northern Sinai. Pp. 380-390 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
 993c Harar, Tel. Pp. 580-584 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Oren, E. F.
 980 Morrison, M. A., and Gilead I.
 Land of Geras Expedition: Preliminary Report for the Seasons of 1982 and 1983. Pp. 57-87 in *Preliminary Reports on Archaeologically Sponsored Excavations 1980-1984*, ed. W. E. Rast. BASOR Supplement 24. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Oren, E. F.
 973 and Netzer, E.
 Tel Sera: Tell Esh-Shari'a. *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 251-254.
- Oren, E. F.
 980 and Shereshevsky, J.
 Military Architecture Along the Ways of Horus. Egyptian Reliefs and Archaeological Evidence. *Eretz-Israel* 20: 8-22. Hebrew.

- Ortinsky, H. M.
 1912 The Tribal System of Israel and Related Groups in the Period of the Judges. *Oriens Antiquus* 1: 11-20.
- Osborne, G. R.
 1991 *The Hermeneutical Spiral*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity.
- Oting, J.
 1976 *Die Nomenklatur des Ägyptischen*. Mainz: von Zabern.
 1979 Zur Geschichte der Späten 19. Dynastie. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 7: 211-271.
 1980 Kriegstagebuch. Pp. 784-790 in *Leben der Ägyptologen*, vol. 3, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Ottoborn, K. F.
 1968 Internal War: A Cross-Cultural Study. *American Anthropologist* 70: 277-289.
 1970 *The Evolution of War: A Cross-Cultural Study*. Human Relations Area Files.
- Otto, E.
 1911 *Ägypten: Der Weg des Pharaonismus*. Hb. ed. Stuttgart: Kolbenhammer.
 1919 Geschichte und Gegenwart des alten Ägypten. *Die Welt der Orient* 1/3: 161-176.
 1969 Legitimation des Herrschens im pharaonischen Ägypten. *Saekian* 20: 385-411.
- Ovachuk, A.
 1993 Gaza. Pp. 464-467 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Owen, D. I.
 1981 An Akkadian Letter from Ugarit at Tel Afek. *Tel Aviv* 8: 1-17.
- Owen, D. I., Hallo, W. W., Singer, I., Beck, P., and Korhavi, M.
 1988 *Akkadian Letters*. 178-180. *The Letters from Ugarit*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Parker, R. A.
 1911 The Lunar Dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16: 31-41.
 1981 Some Reflections on the Lunar Dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II. Pp. 46-48 in *Studies in Ancient Egypt: The Aegean and the Sudan, Egypt in Honor of Peter Dorman on the Occasion of the 40th Birthday*. June 2, 1980, ed. W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Parker, S.
 1911 Parallelism and Proximity in Ugaritic Narrative Verse. *Ugarit Forschungen* 6: 28-294.
- Parr, P. J.
 1983 The Tell Nebi Mend Project. *Le Annuaire Archéologique de Syrie* 33/2: 99-117.
 1991 The Tell Nebi Mend Project. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111: 78-85.
- Peters, A. J.
 1991 A Note on the Accession Date of Merneptah. *Göttinger Museum* 140: 6.
- Petke, S. A.
 1911 Narration in Babylonian Art. *American Journal of Archaeology* 61: 55.
- Perlman, J., Asaro, F., and Dodson, I.
 1973 Provenience of the Deir el-Balah Coffins. *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 147-151.
- Petrie, W. M. F.
 1898 *Denderah*. London: Methuen.
 1891 *Tell el-Hesi (Lachish)*. London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

- .899 Sequences in Prehistoric Remains. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 29: 293-301.
- .905 *A History of Egypt, III*. London: Methuen.
- .906a *Researches in Sinai*. London: Murray.
- .906b *Hikmah and Faraite Cities*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
- .907 *Gaza and Rafah*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
- .928 *Gezer*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
- .930 *Beit Peter I (Tel Fara)*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
- .931 *Antoni. Gaza I (Tel el Ajaj)*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
- .932 *Antoni. Gaza II (Tel el Ajaj)*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
- .933 *Antoni. Gaza III (Tel el Ajaj)*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
- .934 *Antoni. Gaza IV (Tel el Ajaj)*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
- .971 *Ilahun, Rahm and Gush*. Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips.
- Pezard, M.
- .922 Mission archéologique à Tell Nebi Mend 1921. Rapport Sommaire. *Syria* 3: 89-115.
- .931 *Quatrecas, Mission archéologique à Tell Nebi Mend 1921-22*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique du Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie 15. Paris: Geuthner.
- Phillips, J.
- .1981 *Ancient Egyptian Architecture*. Architecture Series. Bibliography BA 784 Monncello, IL. Vance Bibliographies.
- Plythman-Adams, W. J.
- .1921 Askalon Reports: Stratigraphical Sections. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 53: 64-69.
- .1923a Reports on Soundings at Gaza. I. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 55: 11-17.
- .1923b Second Report on Soundings at Gaza. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 55: 18-30.
- .1923c The Problem of "Deserted" Gaza. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 55: 30-36.
- .1924d Report on the Stratification of Askalon. *Palestine Exploration Fund* 53: 60-84.
- Pitcher, E. J.
- .923 Portable Sundial from Gezer. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 55: 85-89.
- Platt, E. E.
- .1992 Jewelry, Ancient Israelite. Pp. 823-834 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 3, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Plig, F. I.
- .1975 Systems Theory in Archaeological Research. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 4: 207-224.
- Pomara, E.
- .1977 Cylinder Seal with a Camel in the Walters Art Gallery. *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 36: 4-6.
- Porter, B., Moss, R. L. B., and Burney, E. W.
- .1972 *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphs Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I-VII*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Porter, J. L.
- .875 *Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine*. London: Murray.

- Posener, G.
 1940 *Proces et pays d'Anc et de Judée*. Brussels: Édition de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
 1956 *Littérature et poésie des Égyptes de la XIII^e dynastie*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 307. Paris: Champion.
- Potts, T.
 1986 An Ivory-Decorated Box from Pella, Jordan. *Antiquity* 60: 217-219.
 1987 A Bronze Age Ivory-Decorated Box from Pella, Paphl and its Foreign Relations. Pp. 59-71 in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan III*, ed. A. Harhah. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Potts, T. F., Bourke, S. J., Edwards, P. C., Richards, F., and Wrightman, G. J.
 1988 Preliminary Report on the Fourth and Fifth Seasons of Excavation by the University of Sydney at Pella, 1986 and 1987. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 32: 115-149.
- Potts, T. and Smith, R. H.
 1986 The Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Pp. 35-81 in *Pella in Jordan 2*. Mediterranean Archaeology, Supplementary Volume 2, ed. A. McNicoll, et al. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Powell, J. G. F.
 1983 Some Implications of Chariotry. Pp. 153-169 in *Culture and Environment: Essays in Honour of Sir Cyril Fox*, ed. I. Foster and L. Adcock. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Press, G. A.
 1982 *The Development of the Idea of History in the Antiquity*. Kingston: McGill-Queens University.
- Pritchard, J. B.
 1951 *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: Princeton University.
 1964 *Waters, Defenses, and Soundings at Gibeon*. Philadelphia: University Museum.
 1965 The Cosmopolitan Culture of the Late Bronze Age. *Exposition* 7: 26-32.
- Pritchard, J. B., ed.
 1969 *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Raban, A.
 1989-90 Tell Abu Hawam. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 9: 21-22.
- Raban, A., and Galanti, I.
 1981 Notes and News: Tell Abu Hawam, 1981. *Israel Exploration Journal* 31: 179-181.
- Rachwan, A.
 1983 *Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit Ägypten*. *Prähistorische Bronzelande III*, Mainz: Beck.
 1985 Einige Aspekte der Vergeltung des ägyptischen Königs. Pp. 64-67 in *Ägypten, Dauer und Wandel: Symposium Anlässlich des 75-jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Mainz, vom 10. und 11. Oktober 1982*. Mainz: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
- Rattay, A. F.
 1963 A Canaanite at Ugarit. *Israel Exploration Journal* 13: 43-45.
 1964 Ugarit and the Canaanites Again. *Israel Exploration Journal* 14: 101.
 1970 *El Amarna Tablets 359-379*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 8, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener.
 1981 A Front Lane Report from Amarna. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3: 13, 49.
 1973 Reflections on the Battle of Qadesh. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5: 280-282.

- 1975 Two Cuneiform Fragments from Tel Aphek. *Tel Aviv* 2: 137-140
- 1976 A Tri-Lingual Cuneiform Fragment from Tel Aphek. *Tel Aviv* 3: 137-140
- 1988 Sharhān. Pp. 453b-454a in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, ed. G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- 1991 Can You Name the Panel with the Israelites? Rauprey's Challenge. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 17: 54-61, 91-92
- 1992 Who or What Was Israel? Reply. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 18: 73-74
- 1993 Sharhān/Sharubīm—Problem of Identification. *Leite Israel* 24: 178*-187*
- 1995 Lurid Elements in Late Bronze Age Canaan. Pp. 48-49B in *Pomgranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical Jewish and Near Eastern Ritual, Law and Literature in Honor of Jacob M. Gordin*, ed. D. P. Wright, D. N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Rast, W. F.
1978 *Tombich I: Studies in the Iron Age Pottery*. American Schools of Oriental Research. Excavation Reports. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Read, D. W. and LeBlanc, S.
1976 Descriptive Statements, Covering Laws, and Theories in Archaeology. *Current Anthropology* 19: 307-335.
- Redford, D. B.
1966 On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25: 113-124
- 1967 *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies*. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- 1971 The Earliest Years of Ramesses II and the Building of the Ramesside Court at Luxor. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 57: 110-119
- 1972 The Taxation System of Solomon. Pp. 149-155 in *Studies on the Ancient Palestinian World*, ed. J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- 1973 New Light on the Asiatic Campaigns of Horemheb. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 211: 36-49
- 1978 Egypt and Asia in the New Kingdom: Some Historical Notes. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 10: 63-70
- 1979 A Gate Inscription from Karnak and Egyptian Involvement in Western Asia during the Early 18th Dynasty. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99: 270-287
- 1982a A Bronze Age Inventory in Transjordan: nos. 89-91 of Thutmose III's List of Asiatic Captivities. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 12: 55-74
- 1982b Contact Between Egypt and Jordan in the New Kingdom: Some Conclusions on Sources. Pp. 13-14 in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan I*, ed. A. Hadidi. Amman: Department of Antiquities.
- 1984a *Athenien. The Herakleion*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- 1984b The Meaning and Use of the Term *gust* "Annals." Pp. 327-341 in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*. Göttingen: Hubert.
- 1985 The Relations between Egypt and Israel from El-Amarna to the Babylonian Conquest. Pp. 192-205 in *Babylonian Archaeology Today*, ed. J. Amatai. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- 1986a The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Israel Stela. *Israel Exploration Journal* 36: 189-200
- 1986b *Pharaoh, King, Lord, Annals, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*. SSEA Publication 4. Mississauga: Benben.

- 990 *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom*. Beer Sheva: 4 Beer Sheva Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.
- 992a Merenptah. Pp. 90-91, in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* vol. 4, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- 992b *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- 992c Execration and Execration Texts. Pp. 681-682, in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Reich, R.
990 The 'Boundary of Gezer' Inscriptions Again. *Israel Exploration Journal* 40: 44-46.
- Rendiburg, G. A.
1981 Merneptah in Canaan. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 11: 171-72.
- 1992 The Date of the Exodus and the Conquest/Settlement: The Case for the 1100s. *Israel Testaments* 42: 510-527.
- Renfrew, C.
1980 The Great Tradition versus the Great Divide: Archaeology as Anthropology? *American Journal of Archaeology* 84: 287-298.
- 198 The Archaeology of Cities: The Sanctuary at Phosofa. London: British School of Archaeology at Athens.
- 1986 Introduction: Peer-Party Interaction and Socio-Political Change. Pp. 1-18 in *Peer-Party Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, ed. C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Renfrew, C., and Bahn, P.
991 *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Renfrew, C., and Cherry, J. F., eds.
986 *Peer-Party Interaction and Socio-Political Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Reisner, G.
991 The Domestication of the Camel and the Establishment of the Frankincense Road from South Arabia. *Orientalis Suevica* 40: 187-219.
- Richards, F. A.
992 Scarab Seals from a Middle to Late Bronze Age Tomb at Pella in Jordan. *Orientalis Suevica et Orientalis* 117. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ripinsky, M.
992 The Camel in Ancient Arabia. *Antiquity* 49: 29-38.
- 983 Camel Ancestry and Domestication in Egypt and the Sahara. *Archaeology* 36: 21-27.
- Robinson, E., and Smith, E.
84 *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea. A Journal of Travel in the Years 1838 and 1839*. 3 vols. 2nd ed. London: Murray.
- Rodriguez, A. D. de.
988 Further Notes on the War Reliefs at Aksha. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 18: 99-103.
- Roeder, G.
956 *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen.
- Rogerson, J. W.
996 Was Early Israel a Segmentary Society? *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 36: 17-25.
- Rom, Z.
966 Agricultural Terraces in the Judean Mountains. *Israel Exploration Journal* 6: 33-49.

- Rosel, H. N.
1997 *Israel in Arabia: Zum Problem der Entstehung Israels*. Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums. 1. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Rosen, S. A.
1987 Demographic Trends in the Negev Highlands: Preliminary Results of the Emergency Survey. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 168: 45-58.
988 Notes on the Origins of Pastoral Nomadism: A Case Study from the Negev and Sinai. *Current Anthropology* 29: 498-506.
992 Norms in Archaeology: A Response to Frankelstein and Perevalovsky. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 287: 75-85.
- Rosenfeld, B.-Z.
988 The 'Boundary of Gezer': Inscriptions and the History of Gezer at the end of the Second Temple Period. *Israel Exploration Journal* 38: 33-345.
- Rothenberg, B.
972a *Were Their King Solomon's Mines? Excavations in the Timna Valley*. New York: Stein and Day.
972b *Timna: Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines*. London: Thames and Hudson.
1983 Corrections on Timna and Tel Yehiam in the *Bulletin: Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 25: 169-170.
1988 *The Egyptian Mining Temples at Timna: Researches in the Arabah* 1988-1989 vol. 1. London: Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies.
1993 Timna: 1988-1990 in *The New Frontiers of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Rosenthal, F.
1999 Die Parallelstellen in den Texten von Ugarit. *Orientalia* 8: 213-237.
- Rowe, A.
1927 The Expedition at Beisan. *The Museum Journal* 18: 411-44.
1928 The Mound at Beth-Shan: New and Unique Discoveries at Beisan, the Beth-Shan of the Old Testament. *Illustrated London News* 173/4677: 1093-1094, 1108.
1929a The Two Royal Stele of Beth-Shan. *The Museum Journal* 20: 69-98.
1929b The Palestine Expedition: Report of the 1928 Season. *The Museum Journal* 20: 37-74.
1929-30 Palestine Expedition of the Museum of the University of Philadelphia. Third Report 1928. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 72: 1-9.
930 *The History and Topography of Beth Shan I*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
935 The 1934 Excavations at Gezer. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 79-83.
1936 *A Catalogue of Egyptian Symbols, Scaraboids, Seal, and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*. Cairo: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
1940 *The Four Consecrated Temples of Beth Shan 2/1*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Rowton, M. B.
1948 Maerthos's Date for Ramesses II. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 34: 1-14.
1959 The Background of the Treaty Between Ramesses II and Hattusili III. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 13: 1-11.
1960 Comparative Chronology at the Time of Dynasty XIX. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19: 15-27.
966 The Materia from Western Asia and the Chronology of the Nineteenth Dynasty. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25: 240-258.

- Russell, J. M.
 1991 *Sennacherib's Palace Without Equal at Nineveh*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Saarsalo, A.
 1927 *The Boundary Between Issachar and Naphtali, An Archaeological and Literary Study of Israel's Settlement in Canaan*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Kirjapainon.
- Saarsalo, A. A., and Harrison, R. K.
 1986 Manasseh. Pp. 233-234 in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, ed. G. W. Bromley. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Sader, H.
 1962 The 12th Century B.C. in Syria: The Problem of the Rise of the Aramaeans. Pp. 1-14 in *The Crux Years: The 12th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowski. Duquesne, IA: Kendall Hunt.
- Saggs, H. W. F.
 81 Assyrian Warfare in the Sargonic Period. *Iraq* 25: 145-154.
- Sahar, S., and Safra, Z.
 1976 Beth-Anath. *Sinai* 78: 18-34. Hebrew.
- Sapin, J.
 1981 La Géographie Humaine de la Syrie-Palestine au deuxième millénaire avant J.C. comme vue de recherche historique. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 24: 1-6.
- Sauer, J. A.
 1980 Transition to the Bronze and Iron Ages. A Critique of Glueck's Synthesis. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 263.
- Säve-Söderbergh, T.
 1914 *Ägypten und Syrien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte ägyptischer Aussenpolitik*. Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri.
 1914 *The Sins of the Fathers in Egyptian Drama*. Uppsala: Lahtisenpöytä.
 1915 *The Hyksos in Egypt. Journey in Egyptian Antiquities*. 1-371.
 1975 Bogensolken. Pp. 84-87 in *Leiden der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Schachermeyr, F.
 1951 Streitwagen und Streitwagenbild im Alten Orient nach den ägyptischen Griechen. *Antiquitas* 46: 705-753.
- Schaeckel, H. D.
 1936 *Die Lusten des grossen Papyrus Haru: ihre wirtschaftliche und politische Ausdeutung*. Glückstadt, Augustin.
- Schaeffer, C. F. A.
 1946 Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne. Printemps 1945. Rapport Sommaire. *Syria* 17: 105-142.
 1949 *The Ugaritic Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*. London: Oxford University Press.
 1948 *Numérisation Comparée et Chronologie de l'Archéologie*. London: Oxford University Press.
 1955 A Bronze Sword from Ugarit with cartouche of Meneptah. *Ras Shamra Syria, Antiquity* 29: 226-229.
- Schaeffer, C. F. A., ed.
 1956 *Ugaritica III*. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, 64. Paris: Geuthner.
- Schäfer, H.
 1935 Das Niederschlagen der Feinde. *Beihfte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 54: 168-176.

Schaffer, M. B.

- 1975 Archaeology as Behavioral Science. *American Anthropologist* 77: 836-848.
 1976 *Behavioral Archaeology*. New York: Academic.
 1983 Toward the Identification of Formation Processes. *American Anthropologist* 48: 675-706.
 1987 *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.

Schmidt, J. D.

- 1973 *Ramesses II: A Chronological Structure for his Reign*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.

Schoder, S.

- 1987 Historisches Bewusstsein in der ägyptischen Kunst: Beobachtungen an der Münchener Statue des Hakenhotep. *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 38: 7-8.

Schott, S.

- 1915 *Mythe und Mythenschichtung in dem Ägypten*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägypten 15. Hildesheim: Olms.

Schulman, A. R.

- 1957 Egyptian Representations of Horus and Ruling in the New Kingdom. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16: 169-172.
 1963 The Egyptian Chantry: A Reexamination. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2: 75-98.
 1964a *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*. Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 6. Berlin: Henschel.
 1964b Siege Warfare in Pharaonic Egypt. *Natural History* 73/3: 13-27.
 1964c Some Observations on the Military Background of the Amarna Period. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 3: 51-69.
 1966 The Royal Butler, Ramessessempet. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 5: 117-126.
 1978 Aspects of Ramesside Diplomacy: The Treaty of Year 21. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 8: 16-20.
 1979 Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38: 177-193.
 1979-80 Chantry, Chantry, and the Hyksos. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 10: 105-153.
 1982 The Battle Scenes in the Middle Kingdom. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 12: 165-183.
 1987 The Great Historical Inscription of Merneptah at Karnak: A Partial Reappraisal. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 24: 2-34.
 1988 Catalogue of the Egyptian Finds. Pp. 114-147 in *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Ikon*, ed. B. Rothemann. London: Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies.
 1993 Military Organization in Pharaonic Egypt. Pp. 269-301 in *Evolution of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 1, ed. J. M. Sasson. New York: Simon and Schuster/Macmillan.

Schwartz, J.

- 1990 Once More on the 'Boundary of Gezer' Inscriptions and the History of Gezer and Lydda at the End of the Second Temple Period. *Israel Exploration Journal* 40: 47-57.

Scurlock, J.

- 1997 Neo-Assyrian Battle Tactics. Pp. 191-311 in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Richard C. Astor on His 80th Birthday*, ed. G. D. Young, M. W. Chavalas, and R. E. Averbeck. Bethesda, MD: CDL.

- Seale, K. C.
1940 *The Coresgency of Ramses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 19*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Seger, J. D.
1973 The MB II Fortifications at Shechem and Gezer: A Hyksos Retrospective. *Erte Israel* 12: 34*-45*.
1976 The Middle Bronze Age II C. Date of the East Gate at Shechem. *Lectura* 6: 117-130.
1993 Gezer: A Twice Told Tell. 90: 1909 and 1964-1974. Pp. 559-574 in *Biblical Archaeology Today: 1990: Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June-July 1990*, ed. A. Biran and J. Aviram. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Seger, S.
1979 Ugaritic Poetry and Poetics: Some Preliminary Observations. *Ugarit Forschungen* 11: 729-738.
1981 Parallels in Ugaritic Poetry. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 63: 295-306.
- Sethe, K.
1907 *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, vol. 4. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
1916 *Die Achtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völler, etc.* Leipzig: Hinrichs.
1927 Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenwechsel dieses Königs. *Schrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 62: 1-12.
- Seton Williams, M. A.
196 Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell Rifa at Iraq 23: 66-67.
1967 Second Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell Rifa at Iraq 29: 10-23.
- Severus, M. W.
1992 Reconsidering the Egyptian Empire in Palestine during the Amarna Period. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 124: 25-33.
- Shanks, H.
1991 Gaza Report: Nascent Palestinian Authority Tackles New Dig. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 23: 2-33.
- Sharon, I.
1994 Demographic Aspects of the Problem of the Israeli Settlement. Pp. 119-134 in *Uncovering Ancient Sites: Essays in Memory of H. Neil Richardson*, ed. L. M. Hopfe. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Shea, W. H.
1979 A Date for the Recently Discovered Eastern Canal of Egypt. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 226: 31-38.
1979 The Conquests of Sharuhen and Megiddo Reconsidered. *Israel Exploration Society* 29: 1-5.
- Sherratt, S.
1998 "Sea Peoples" and the Economic Structure of the Late Second Millennium in the Eastern Mediterranean. Pp. 262-273 in *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries B.C.E. In Honor of Trade Doherty*, ed. S. Gitin, A. Mazar, E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Shilo, Y.
1993 Megiddo. Pp. 1012-1024 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Shuk, E.
1968 The Concept and Function of Ideology. Pp. 66-76 in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 7, ed. D. L. Sills. New York: Macmillan.

Sharon-Grunach, I.

- 197 Parallels in the Membranes and Vessels. Pp. 463-492 in *Fragen an die altgyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken Eberhard Otto*, ed. J. Assmann, E. Erucht and R. Grieshammer. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Siegelemaun, A.

- 1979 A Capital in the Form of a Papyrus Flower from Megiddo. *JHAs* 3: 14.

Simons, J. J.

- 1937 *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*. Leiden: Brill.

Simpson, W. K., and Hallo, W. W.

- 1971 *The Ancient Near East: A History*. New York: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich.

Sinclair, L.

- 1960 An Archaeological Study of Gibeath (Tell el-Ful). *Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 34-35: 16-18.

Singer, I.

- 1981 A Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impression from Tel Aphiak. *Tel Aviv* 4: 178-80.
- 1983 Takahani and Haya: Two Governors in the Ugait Letter from Tel Aphiak. *Tel Aviv* 10: 3-20.
- 1985 The Rebuilding of Philistine Settlements in Canaan and the Northern Boundary of Philistia. *Tel Aviv* 12: 109-122.
- 1986 An Egyptian Governor's Residence at Gezer? *Tel Aviv* 3: 29-31.
- 1988 Merneptah's Campaign to Canaan and the Egyptian Occupation of the Southern Coastal Plain of Palestine in the Ramesside Period. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 269: 1-10.
- 1988-89 The Political Status of Megiddo VIIA. *Tel Aviv* 15-16: 101-112.
- 1991 Egyptians, Canaanites, and Philistines in the Period of the Emergence of Israel. Pp. 282-338 in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, ed. I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Sinopoli, C. M.

- 1994 The Archaeology of Empires. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 153-80.

Sjögrenstad, M.

- 1992 Ethnic Groups in Early Bronze Age Palestine: Some Remarks on the Use of the Term 'Israelite' in Recent Research. *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 6: 159-86.

Sliva, J.

- 1974 Some Remarks Concerning Victorious Ruler Representations in Egyptian Art. *Forschungen und Berichte* 16: 97-117.

Strat, F.

- 1988 The Period VIII Pottery. Pp. 43-49 in *Hammam el-Turkman I: Report on the Excavations of Amsterdam, 1982-1984 Excavations in Syria, II*, ed. M. van Loon. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 63. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Smith, G. A.

- 1901 Notes of a Journey through Hauran, with Inscriptions Found by the Way. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 33: 340-36.

Smith, R. H.

- 1973 *Pella of the Decapolis, Vol. 1*. Wooster, OH: College of Wooster.
- 1983 Preliminary Report on the 1983 Season of the Sydney/Wooster Joint Expedition to Pella, Spring Season. *Annals of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 27: 363-373.

- 1993 Pella. Pp. 1174-1180 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Smith, R. H., and Ports T. F.
1992 The Iron Age. Pp. 83-101 in *Pella in Jordan 2: The Second Interim Report of the Joint University of Sydney and College of Wooster Excavations at Pella, 1982-1985*, ed. A. W. McNicoll, P. C. Edwards, J.
- Haubury-Tennant, J. B. Hemmings, T. F. Ports, R. H. Smith, A. Wainman, and P. Watson. *Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 2*. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Smith, S. T.
1991 A Model for Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia. *Göttingen Mitteilungen* 122: 77-102.
- Such, A., and Weisbrod, T., and Perath, I.
1971 Evidence for an Ancient Egyptian Embankment Canal. *American Scientist* 59: 542-548.
- Soden, W. von
1963 Die Assyrer und der Krieg. *Bag* 25: 131-144.
- Soren, D.
1985 An Earthquake on Cyprus: New Discoveries from Kition. *Archaeology* 38: 12-17.
- Stronlive, C.
1984 *La main dans l'Egypte pharaonique*. Bern: Lang.
- Sourouzian, H.
1989 *Les Monuments du roi Merneptah*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonnenschrift 2. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Spaulinger, A. J.
1978 On the Bentrash Stela and Related Problems. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 8: 11-18.
1979a Traces of the Early Career of Seti I. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 9: 227-236.
1979b The Northern Wars of Seti I: An Integrative Study. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 15: 251-264.
1979c Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38: 27-38.
1979d Some Notes on the Laws of the Old Kingdom and Historical Reflections. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 9: 237-246.
1980 Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68: 134-144.
1981 Notes on the Military in Egypt During the XXVth Dynasty. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 11: 37-58.
1983a The Historical Implications of the Year 9 Campaign of Amenhotep II. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 13: 89-110.
1983b *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*. Yale Near Eastern Researches 9. New Haven: Yale University.
1985a Notes on the Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh. Pp. 1-42 in *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh*, ed. H. Goedicke. Baltimore: Halgo.
1985b Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II. The "Bulet" Pp. 43-75 in *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh*, ed. H. Goedicke. Baltimore: Halgo.
- Spiegelberg, W.
1896 Der Siegeshymnus des Merneptah auf der Flinders Petrie-Stele. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 34: 1-5.

- 1908 Zu der Erwähnung Israels in dem Merneptah-Hymnus. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 9: 403-405
- Spencer, E. A.
1933 *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.* Baltimore: Furst
- Spencer, A. J.
1979 *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt*. Warminster: Arts and Philips
- Spycher, L.
1982 Propaganda. Pp. 112-122 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 4 ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Stade, B.
1887 *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 1. Berlin: Grote
- Stadelmann, R.
1968 Die Abwehr der Seesvölker unter Ramses III. *Saqqara* 19: 156-171
1980 Medinet Habu. Pp. 125-271 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 5 ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
1981 Die lange Regierung Ramses' II. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 37: 457-464
- Stager, L. E.
1982 The Archaeology of the East Slope in Jerusalem and the Terraces of the Kidron. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 41: 111-122
1983a The Archaeology of the Family in Early Israel. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260: 1-35
1983b Merneptah, Israel and Sea Peoples: New Light on an Old Relief. *Exet, Israel* 18: 56*-64*
1991 *Ashkelon Discovered: From Canaanites and Philistines to Romans and Muslims*. Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society
1993 Ashkelon. Pp. 145-152 in *The New Frontiers of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster
1995a The Impact of the Sea Peoples on Canaan. 118-120 in *IBL*. Pp. 332-348 in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. E. Levy. Leicester: Leicester University
1995b Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel. Tel Miqne-Ekron, Israel, July
1997 Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel, letter, November 2, 1997
- Stager, L. E., and Esser, D.
1986 Ashkelon—1985/1986. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 5: 2-6.
- Staubli, T.
1981 *Die Image der Semiten am Alten Israel und in der Chronographie seiner umliegenden Nachbarn*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 107. Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
- Stead, M.
1986 *Egyptian Life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University
- Stein, H. E.
1982 The Israel Seal. Pp. 142-165 in *Papers for Discussion 1: 1981-1982* ed. S. Groß and H. E. Stein. Jerusalem: Hebrew University
- Steindorff, G.
1896 Israel in einer altägyptischen Inschrift. *Zeitschrift für die ägyptische Wissenschaft* 16: 330-373
1928 *Die Kunst des Ägypten*. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag.
1937 *Ancient Egypt*. New York: Augustus.

- Stern, E.
 1990 New Evidence from Dor for the First Appearance of the Philistines Along the Northern Coast of Israel. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 279: 27-34.
 1993 Dor. Pp. 357-368 in *The Neo Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
 1994 *Dor: Ruler of the Sea*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
 Stern, E., Berg, J., and Sharon, I.
 1991 Tel Dor, 1988-1989: Preliminary Report. *Israel Exploration Journal* 41: 46-51.
 Stern, E., and Sharon, I.
 1987 Tel Dor, 1986: Preliminary Report. *Israel Exploration Society* 37: 201-21.
 1993 Tel Dor, 1992: Preliminary Report. *Israel Exploration Society* 43: 126-150.
 Stern, E., Gilboa, A., and Sharon, I.
 1989 Tel Dor, 1987: Preliminary Report. *Israel Exploration Journal* 39: 3-4.
 1992 Tel Dor, 199: Preliminary Report. *Israel Exploration Journal* 42: 34-46.
 Stubbings, W. H., Jr.
 1980 The End of the Mycenaean Age. *Babylonian Archaeologist* 43: 7-21.
 1989 *Man in the Desert: Archaeology and the Exodus Conquest Narratives*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus.
 1994 Climate and Collapse—Did the Weather Make Israel's Emergence Possible? *Bible Review* 10: 18-27, 54.
 Stobé, F.
 1988 Kanaan. Pp. 534-556 in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Band 7. Berlin: de Gruyter.
 Strauss, E.-I.
 1984 *Die Amarna-Episteln: Eine Einführung in die Ägyptische Literatur*. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
 Stubbings, F.
 1990 Arms and Armies. Pp. 101-122 in *A Companion to Homer*, ed. A. Wace and F. Stubbings. London: Macmillan.
 Stuart, J.
 1986 *La guerre de Ramsès II contre les Hittites*. Bruxelles: Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne. Étude 6.
 Svensson, J.
 1994 *Towns and Towns in the Old Testament*. Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series 38. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
 Tadmor, H.
 1958 The People and the Kingship of Ancient Israel: The Role of Political Institutions in the Biblical Period. *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 2: 48-88.
 1979 The Decline of Empires in Western Asia ca. 1200 BCE. Pp. 1-14 in *Symposium Celebrating the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 1976-1977, ed. F. M. Cross. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
 Tadmor, M.
 1970 A Sickle Sword and a Straight Sword: New Acquisitions in the Israel Museum. *Qadmoniot* 3: 63.
 Taunter, J. A.
 1988 *The Collapse of Complex Societies*. New Studies in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
 Tarler, D., Lipowitz, G., and Cahill, J.
 1985 Tell el-Hamma—1985. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 4: 41-42.

- 1989-90 Tell el-Hammah—, 1988. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 9: 134-135.
- Tefnin, R.
 1979 Image et Histoire. Réflexions sur l'usage documentaire de l'image égyptienne. *Chronique d'Égypte* 108: 218-244.
 1980 Jeux campagnes de fouilles au Tell Abou Damer 975-1976. Pp. 74-20 in *Le Moyen Égyptien: Zone de contacts et d'échanges*, ed. J. Margueron. Strasbourg: Université de Sciences Humaines.
 1981 Image et Histoire. À propos les représentations de la bataille de Qadesh. *Göttinger Museum* 47: 55-78.
- Thomas, A. P.
 1981 *Gurub: A New Kingdom Tomb*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Thompson, H. O.
 1970 *Mekub: The God of Beth Shean*. Leiden: Brill.
 1992 Yawneh. Pp. 1101-1102 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 6, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Thompson, T. L.
 1979 *The Settlement of Canaan in the Bronze Age*. Bechtel zum Fünfundzwanzigsten Atlas des vorderen Orients. Reihe B, No. 34. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
 1992 *Early History of the Levant: Papers from the Western and Archaeological Sources*. Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East 4. Leiden: Brill.
 1997 *Deborah: History and Ethnography in the Southern Levant*. Pp. 166-87 in *Canaan: History of Israel in Context*, ed. J. J. Gribbe. Journal of the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 245. Sheffield: JSOT.
- Thurston, T. L.
 1977 Historians, Prehistorians, and the Tyranny of the Historical Record: Danish State Excavation Through Documents and Archaeological Data. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4: 239-264.
- Tilley, C.
 1990 Rise, Decline, Fall. *Sociological Forum* 5: 323-329.
- Tufnell, S.
 1989 *Ugarit zwischen den Mächten: Studien zu historischen Dokumenten und Texten*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Unger, B.
 1984 Archaeology at the Crossroads: What's New? *Annals Review of Anthropology* 13: 275-301.
- Wombs, L. L.
 1971 Shechem: Problems of the Early Israelite Era. Pp. 69-83 in *Symposium Celebrating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900-1975)*, ed. F. M. Cross. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Tubb, J. N.
 1985 Some Observations on Spearheads in Palestine in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Pp. 189-196 in *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages: Papers in Honour of Olga Tufnell*, ed. J. N. Tubb. London: Institute of Archaeology.
 1988 Tell es-Sa'diyeh: Preliminary Report on the First Three Seasons of Renewed Excavations. *Levant* 20: 23-88.
 1990 Preliminary Report on the Fourth Season of Excavations at Tell es-Sa'diyeh in the Jordan Valley. *Levant* 22: 21-4.
 1993 Sa'diyeh, Tell es-. Pp. 900-904 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Tubb, J. N., Dorrell, P. G., and Cobbing, F. J.
 1996 Interim Report on the Eighth (1995) Season of Excavations at Tell es-Sa'diyeh. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 128: 16-40.

- 1997 Interim Report on the Ninth 1996 Season of Excavations at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh. *Palastine Exploration Quarterly* 29: 54-77
- Tufnell, O.
 1933 *Lachish III (Tell ed-Duwayr): The Iron Age*. New York: Oxford University.
 1938 *Lachish II (Tell ed-Duwayr): The Bronze Age*. New York: Oxford University.
 1980 A Review of the Contents of Cave 303 at Tell el-Ajjul. *Anglo 14*: 3-48.
- Tufnell, O., Inge, C. H., and Harding, I.
 1940 *Lachish II (Tell ed-Duwayr): The First Temple*. New York: Oxford University.
- Tushingham, A. D.
 1972 *The Excavations at Dibon (Dhibin, in Moab: The Third Campaign 1952-53*. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 40. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
 1992 Dibon. Pp. 134-140 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* vol. 2, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
 1993 Dibon. Pp. 350-352 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Tushingham, A. D., and Pedersen, P. H.
 1995 Meaia's Citadel Complex (Qarhoh) at Dhibin. *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5: 151-159.
- Uehlinger, J.
 1988 Der Amun-Tempel Ramess' III in Jb-Ka'k, seine spätpalästinischen Tempelgüter und der Übergang von der Ägypter- zur Philistinerherrschaft ein Hinweis auf einige wenig beachtete Skarabäen. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 104: 6-21.
- Uphill, F.
 1967 The Nine Bows. *Jahrbuch Ex Oriente Lux* 19: 393-420.
- Ussishkin, D.
 1977 Notes and News. Tel Lachish, 1976. *Israel Exploration Journal* 27: 48-51.
 1978a Excavations at Tel Lachish—1973-1977. *Tel Aviv* 5: 1-9.
 1978b Lachish. Renewed Archaeological Excavations. *Expedition* 20: 18-28.
 1985 Level VII and VI at Tel Lachish and the End of the Late Bronze Age in Canaan. Pp. 3-22 in *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Age: Papers in Honour of Olga Tufnell*, ed. J. N. Tubb. London: Institute of Archaeology.
 1987 Lachish Key to the Israelite Conquest. *Public Archaeology Review* 8: 8-39.
 1993 Lachish. Pp. 80-81 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
 1995 The Destruction of Megiddo at the End of the Late Bronze Age and Its Historical Significance. *Tel Aviv* 22: 240-267.
- Van Beek, G.
 1984 Jerameh Tell. Pp. 66-67 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Van Der Kooy, G.
 1993 Tell Beit Alla. Pp. 338-342 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Van Esche-Merchez, I.
 1992 La syntaxe formelle des reliefs et de la grande inscription de l'an 8 de Ramses III à Médinet Habou. *Chronique d'égypte* 67: 211-239.
 1994 Pour une lecture "Stratigraphique" des parois du temple de Ramses III à Médinet Habou. *Revue d'égyptologie* 45: 8-16.
- Van Seters, J.
 1966 *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*. New Haven: Yale University.
 1983 *In Search of History: Heterogeneity in the Ancient Near Eastern World and the Origins of Biblical History*. New Haven: Yale University.

Vandersmyet, C.

- 1971 *Les guerres d'Aménophis IV et la VIII^e Dynastie*. Monographies Reine Elisabeth I. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Vaux, R. de

- 968 *Le pays de Canaan*. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88: 23-30.
969 *Sur l'origine Kénite du Midianite du Yabwisme*. *Études Égyptologiques* 4: 24-32.
978 *The Early History of Israel*. tr. D. Smith. Philadelphia: Westminster.

Vercel, S.

- 984 *War and Warfare in Archaeology*. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 3: 16-132.

Ventura, R.

- 1974 *An Egyptian Rock Stela at Timna*. *Tel Aviv* 1: 60-63.
1987a *Four Egyptian Funerary Stelae from Deir el-Balah*. *Israel Exploration Journal* 37: 1-15.
1987b *The Egyptian Temple at Serabit el-Khadim*. In *Sinan*, part 2: Human Geography, ed. G. Gevirtzman et al. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.

Vermeulen, J.

- 1947 *Les Haou-nebout*. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 46: 125-158.
1949 *Les Haou-nebout*. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 48: 407-409.
972 *Une campagne militaire de Seti I en Haute Nubie*. *Stele de Saïs* 79. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 24: 201-208.

Vernus, P.

- 978 *L'apport des sources égyptiennes au problème hourrite*. *Revue hittite et assyriologique* 36: 189-197.

Vogt, E.

- 977 *Normen Israel in tabulis ugaritica*. *Biblica* 38: 375.

Volten, A.

- 963 *Der Begriff der Maat in den ägyptischen Weisheitsbüchern*. Pp. 25-111. In *Les sagesses du Proche-Orient ancien: Colloque de Strasbourg 17-19 mai 1962*. Strasbourg: Universitaires de France.

Vwachtel, W.

- 1972 *Die ägyptische Bezeichnung für den "Kriegsgefangenen"*. *Mit. Alt. 2*: 43-46.
1982 *Eine weitere Bezeichnung für den "Kriegsgefangenen."* *Göttinger Mit. Alt. 2*: 5-6.

Wachsmann, S.

- 981 *The Ships of the Sea Peoples*. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 10: 177-179.

Walle, B., van de

- 928 *Inscriptions Égyptiennes*. Cols. 4-8-182 in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Supplément 4, ed. L. Pirot and A. Robert. Paris: Letouzey et Ané.

Wallert, I. G.

- 957 *Der erste Löff: eine Formgeschichte und Verwendung von allen Ägypten*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Wainwright, A. G.

- 1994 *The Eleventh and Twelfth Seasons of Excavations at Tell Lachish*. Pp. 189-199. *Journal of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 37: 165-199.

Wapnish, P.

- 1981 *Camel Caravans and Camel Pastoralists at Tell Jemuni*. *Journal of the Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 13: 101-121.

- 984 The Dromedary and Bactrian Camel in Levantine Historical Setting: The Evidence from Tell Jemneh. Pp. 1-20 in *Animals and Archaeology 3. Early Herders and their Flock*. BAR International Series 202, ed. J. Clutton-Brock and C. Grigson. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Ward, W. A.
 964 Cylinders and Scarabs from a Late Bronze Temple at 'Amman. *Annals of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 8/9: 47-55.
 1966a The Egyptian Inscriptions of Leve, vi. Pp. 16-19 in *The Iron Age at Beth Shean: A Study of Leve III*, ed. F. James. Philadelphia: University Museum.
 1966b Scarabs, Seals, and Cylinders from Two Tombs at Amman. *Annals of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 11: 5-19.
 1972 The Shasu "Bedouin." Notes on a Recent Publication. *Journal of the Near Eastern and Social History of the Orient* 15: 35-64.
 1978 *Seals in Scarab Seals*, vol. 1. Warminster: Arts and Phillips.
 1984 Royal-Name Scarabs. Pp. 151-192 in *Scarab Seals and Their Contribution to History in the Early Second Millennium B.C.* Studies on Scarab Seals 1. Warminster: Arts and Phillips.
 987 Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context. *American Journal of Archaeology* 91: 507-53.
 992a The Present Status of Egyptian Chronology. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 288: 53-64.
 1992b Egyptian Relations with Canaan. Pp. 394-408 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
 1992c Shasu. Pp. 1163-1167 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
 1994 Breeds in Stone: The Egyptian Scarab. *Biblical Archaeologist* 57/4: 80-202.
- Ward, W. A., and Dever, W. L.
 1994 *Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context: An Update on Middle Bronze Age Chronology*. Studies on Scarab Seals 3. San Antonio, TX: Van Siclen.
- Ward, W. A., and Joukowski, M. S., eds.
 1992 *The Crisis Years: From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- Ward, W. A., and Martin, M. F.
 1964 The Bala's Stele: A New Transcription with Palaeographical and Historical Notes. *Annals of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 8-9: 5-29.
- Warmanhol, F.
 983 La stele de Ruqm el-Abd. Louvre AO 3055. *Levant* 15: 63-75.
- Watkins, T.
 990 The Beginnings of Warfare. Pp. 15-35 in *Warfare in the Ancient World*, ed. J. Hackett. New York: Facts on File.
- Watson, F. J., LeBlanc, S. A., and Redman, C. L.
 1984 *Archaeological Excavation: The Scientific Method in Archaeology*. New York: Columbia University.
- Watson, W. G. F.
 984 *Canaanite Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to a Technique*. Journal for the Society of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 26. Sheffield: JSOT.
 1994 *Traditional Techniques in Canaanite Hebrew Verse*. Journal for the Society of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 170. Sheffield: JSOT.
- Watzinger, C.
 1929 *Tell el-Mudawil 2*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
 1933 *Denkmäler Palästinas. Eine Einführung in die Archäologie des Heiligen Landes*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

- Way, T. von der
 1984 *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses II. zur Qadesh-Schlacht. Analyse und Struktur*. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- 1992 *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg im Alten Ägypten: Die Inschriften des Merneptah zum Libyerkrieg des Jahres 5*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 4. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Webster, D.
 1975 Warfare and the Evolution of the State: A Reconsideration. *American Antiquity* 40: 464-470.
- 1977 Warfare and the Evolution of Maya Civilization. Pp. 335-377 in *The Origins of Maya Civilization*, ed. R. E. W. Adams. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.
- Weidner, E. F.
 1926 Die Annalen Königs Assurban II. von Assyrien. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 3: 151-161.
- 1968-69 Bruchstücke assyrischer Königsmanschriften. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 12: 75-77.
- Weill, R.
 1904 *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinaï*. Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition.
- Wenigfeld, M.
 1987 The Tribal League at Sinai. Pp. 303-314 in *Desert Inhabitation Religion*, ed. P. D. Miller, Jr., P. D. Hanson, and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Weinstein, J. M.
 1980 A 9th Century [ca.] Egyptian Naval Base? *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 238: 43-46.
- 1981 The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 241: 1-28.
- 1991 Egypt and the Middle Bronze III-Late Bronze IA Transition in Palestine. *Levant* 23: 105-116.
- 1992a The Collapse of the Egyptian Empire in the Southern Levant. Pp. 421-450 in *The Crisis Years of the 26th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- 1992b The Chronology of Palestine in the Early Second Millennium B.C.E. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 288: 27-46.
- 1993 The Scaraboid Plaques, Seals and Rings. Pp. 221-233 in *The Late Bronze Egyptian Scaraboid at Beth Shean: A Study of Levels III and IIIA*, vol. 1, ed. F. W. James and P. F. McGoey. Pennsylvania: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- 1998 Egyptian Relations with the Eastern Mediterranean: Works at the End of the Second Millennium B.C.E. Pp. 381-404 in *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries B.C.E. In Honor of Tuvia Dothan*, ed. S. Gitin, A. Mazar, E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Weippert, H.
 1988 *Palästina in vorhellenuisicher Zeit*. München: Beck.
- Weippert, M.
 1971 *The Settlement of the Inland Tribes in Palestine*. Studies in Biblical Theology Second Series 21. London: SCM.
- 1974 Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends. Über die Stamme der ägyptischen Quellen. *Babylon* 55: 265-280; 427-433.

- 1979 The Israelite "Conquest" and the Evidence from Transjordan. Pp. 5-35 in *Symposium Celebrating the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1901-1976)*, ed. F. M. Cross. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- 1980 *Kanaan: Realisation der Ägyptologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 5/6: 352-353.
- Weippert M., and Weippert H.
1994 Die Vorgeschichte Israels in neuem Licht. *Theologische Rundschau* 56: 341-390.
- Weisman M.
1993 The Mountain of God. *Torbig* 47: 107-119.
1992 Israel's Ancient Amphitryony: History of Utopia? Pp. 105-19 in *Cult and Ritual in the Ancient Near East*, ed. T. Mikasa. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Weiss B.
1982 The Decline of Late Bronze Age Civilizations as a Possible Response to Climatic Change. *Climatic Change* 4: 172-198.
- Wente, F. J.
1981 Explaining the Evolution of Cultural Complexity: A Review. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 4: 71-127.
- Wente, F. F.
1963 Sutekh or Shasu? *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 22: 167-172.
1992 Ramesses II. Pp. 618-620 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- 1993 The Scribes of Ancient Egypt. Pp. 221-225 in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 4, ed. J. M. Sasson. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Wente, F. F. and Van Siclen, C. C.
1976 A Chronology of the New Kingdom. Pp. 117-261 in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, ed. J. Johnson and E. F. Wente. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Wersatzky, A.
1997 An der Grenze von Literatur und Geschichte. Pp. 499-502 in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien von Werner Eckardt* (Hrsg. v. J. Assmann, F. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer. Würzburg: Reichert).
- Whitelam, K. W.
1993 The Identity of Early Israel: The Realignment and Transformation of Late Bronze-Iron Age Palestine. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 3: 57-87.
1996 *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Journey of Palestinian History*. New York: Routledge.
- Widmer, W.
1973 Zur Darstellung der Seevölker am Großen Tempel von Medinet Habu. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 102: 67-77.
- Wifall, W.
1948 The Foreign Nations: Israel's Nine Bows. *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 3: 113-124.
- Wiedung, D.
1972 Ramses die große Sonne Ägyptens. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 99: 33-41.
1974 Aufbau und Zweckbestimmung der Königsliste von Karnak. *Göttinger Mitteilungen* 9: 41-48.
1977a Erschlagen der Feinde. Pp. 4-17 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Heick and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- 1977b *Geschichtsauffassung*. Pp. 360-362 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1977c *Geschichtsbild*. Pp. 362-364 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1977d *Geschichtsdarstellung*. Pp. 364-366 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1981 *Neuauflagen*. Pp. 471-472 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Wilkinson, R. H.
- 1987 The Turned Bow as a Gesture of Surrender in Egyptian Art. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 17: 128-133.
- 1991 The Representation of the Bow in the Art of Egypt and the Ancient Near East. *Journal of the American Near Eastern Society* 20: 83-99.
- Williams, R. J.
- 1958 The Israel Stone of Merneptah. Pp. 137-141 in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. D. W. Thomas. London: Nelson.
- 1964 Literature as a Medium of Political Propaganda in Ancient Egypt. Pp. 19-30 in *The Seed of Wisdom: Essays in Honor of T. J. Meek*, ed. W. S. McCullough. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Wilson, J. A.
- 1927 The Battle of Kadesh. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 43: 266-287.
- 1951a *The Burden of Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- 1951b *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- 1961a Egyptian Historical Texts. Pp. 1-20 in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed., ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University.
- 1961b Egyptian Hymns and Prayers. Pp. 365-381 in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed., ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University.
- 1969c An Egyptian Letter. Pp. 475-479 in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed., ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University.
- 1969d Egyptian Treaty. Pp. 199-201 in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed., ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Wimmer, D.
- 1987a The Fouayyeh at Tell Safir. Pp. 179-182 in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan III*, ed. B. A. Hachidi. Amman: Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
- 1987b Tell Safir Excavations, 1982-1985. A Preliminary Report. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 31: 159-174.
- Wimmer, S.
- 1990 Egyptian Temples in Canaan and Sinai. Pp. 105-106 in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, ed. S. Israel-Groll. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- In press Hieratic Inscription. In *Excavations on the Cemetery and Settlement of Deir el-Balah*. Qadim 33. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- Winnett, F. V., and Reed, W. L.
- 1961 *The Excavations at Dibon, Dibon in Moab, 1950-51 and 1952*. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 36-37. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Winter, I. J.
- 1971 Perspective on the 'Local Style' of Hasanlu IVB: A Study in Receptivity. Pp. 371-386 in *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater*

- Mesopotamia. *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 7. ed. L. D. Levine and T. C. Young, Jr. Malibu: Undena.
- Wiseman, D. J.
1950 Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia. Pp. 40-83 in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. D. W. Thomas. New York: Nelson.
- Wolf, W.
1933 Neue Beiträge zum Tagebuch eines Grenzbeamten. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 69: 39-45.
- Wolff, S. R.
1906 Archaeology in Israel. *American Journal of Archaeology* 100: 725-768.
- Wood, B. G.
1985 *Philistine Pottery of the Late Bronze Age: An Investigation of the Terminal LH IIB Phase*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. The University of Toronto, Toronto.
1987 Egyptian Amphorae of the New Kingdom and Ramesside Periods. *Biblical Archaeologist* 50: 75-83.
99 The Philistines Enter Canaan: Were they Egyptian Lancers or Invading Conquerors? *Biblical Archaeology Review* 17: 44-50.
- Woolley, L.
1955 *Atlatl. An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atlatl in the Holy Land, 1937-1949*. London: Society of Antiquaries.
- Worschech, U. F.
1981a North-east Jordan 1981 and 1984. A Preliminary Report. *Mitteilungen Georg*
1981b Preliminary Report on the Third Survey Season in the Northwest Jordan. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 29: 161-173.
1990a Ergebnisse der Grabungen in el-Bān 1987. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 106: 86-113.
1990b Die Beziehungen Moabs zu Israel und Ägypten in der Eisenzeit. *Siedlungsanalogie und siedlungshistorische Untersuchungen im Kernland Moabs (Ard el Kerak)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
1993 Siedlungsentwicklung und sozio-ökologische Entwicklung in der Moab während des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. *Ugarit Forschungen* 25: 441-449.
1995 City Planning and Architecture at the Iron Age City of al-Balu in Central Jordan. *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2: 145-149.
1997a Ar Moab. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 109: 246-253.
1997b Egypt and Moab. *Biblical Archaeologist* 60: 229-234.
- Worschech, U. F. Ch. and Nimow, F.
1994 Preliminary Report on the Third Campaign at the Ancient Site of el-Balu in 1991. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 38: 195-203.
- Wreszinski, W.
1935 *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* 2. Leipzig: Harrach.
- Wright, G. E.
1946 The Literary and Historical Problem of Joshua 10 and Judges. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 5: 105-114.
1961 The Archaeology of Palestine. Pp. 3-2 in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G. E. Wright. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
1962 *Biblical Archaeology*. 2nd ed. London: Duckworth.
1965 *Seirām. The Burial of a Biblical City*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
1966 The Bronze Age Temple at Arad: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 78: 350-357.

- 1982 Introduction. Pp. 3-88 in *Joshua*, Anchor Bible, R. G. Boling, Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Wright, G. R. H.
 1985 *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Band 1. Der alte Vorderer Orient 2B/3. Leiden: Brill.
- Wyatt, N.
 1979 Some Observations on the Idea of History among the West Semitic Peoples. *Lugard-Forschungen* 11: 825-832.
- Yadin, Y.
 1955 Hittite Fortifications and the Battering Ram. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 137: 23-32.
 1957 Further Light on Biblical Hazor: Results of the Second Season. 195b. *Biblical Archaeologist* 20: 34-4.
 1963 *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
 1968 Weapons. Pp. 931-970 in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. 5. Jerusalem: Bialik.
 1969 The Fifth Season of Excavations at Hazor. 1969-1970. *Biblical Archaeologist* 32: 50-70.
 1975 *Hazor: The Rediscovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible*. New York: Random House.
 1979 The Transition from a Semi-Nomadic to a Sedentary Society in the Twelfth Century B.C.E. Pp. 1-48 in *Symposium Celebrating the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900-1975)*, ed. F. M. Cross. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- 1982 Is the Biblical Conquest of Canaan Historically Reliable? *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8: 16-23.
- 1990a Hazor. Pp. 194-205 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeology and Excavation in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 1990b Megiddo: The Iron Age. Pp. 1012-1013 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeology and Excavation in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Yadin, Y. et al.
 1948 *Hazor I: An Account of the First Season of Excavation 1955*. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- 1960 *Hazor II: An Account of the Second Season of Excavation 1956*. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- Yadin, Y., and Geva, S.
 1986 *Investigation in Beth Shean: The Early Iron Age Strata*. Qadmon 23. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Yaron, I.
 1980 *Tel Lachish at the End of the Late Bronze Age*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Tel Aviv University.
 1994 A Late Bronze Age Gate at Gezer? *Tel Aviv* 21: 283-287.
- Yaroslav, I.
 1988 *Aspects of the Material Culture of Canaan During the Egyptian 20th Dynasty (1170-1100 B.C.E.)*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv.
- Yassine, K. N.
 1974 City Planning of Tell el-'Ajjul: Reconstructed Plan. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 19: 129-33.
- Yervin, S.
 1971 A New Egyptian Source for the History of Palestine and Syria. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 14: 194-229.

- 1967 Amenophis II's Asiatic Campaigns. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 6: 119-128.
- 1971 *The Levantine Conquest of Canaan*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten.
- Yellin, J., Dothan, T., Gould, B.
1986 The Provenience of Beertoules from Deir el-Balah: A Study by Neutron Activation Analysis. *Israel Exploration Journal* 36: 68-73.
- 1990 The Origin of Late Bronze White Burnished Slip Wares from Deir el-Balah. *Israel Exploration Journal* 40: 257-261.
- Yisraeli, Y.
1975 Shearim. In: Pp. 374-382 in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 4, ed. E. Stern. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- 1993 Farah. Tell el-South. Pp. 441-444 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Yoffee, N.
1982 Social History and Historical Method in the Late Old Babylonian Period. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102: 347-354.
- 1988 Collapsing States. Pp. 191 in *The Collapse of Ancient State and Civilization*, ed. N. Yoffee and G. L. Cowgill. Tucson: University of Arizona.
- Yoffee, N., and Cowgill, G. L., eds.
1988 *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*. Tucson: University of Arizona.
- Yon, M.
1942 The End of the Kingdom of Egypt. Pp. 111-122 in *The Cross: From the 12th Century B.C. from beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- Yon, M., Lombard, P., and Renno, M.
1991 L'Organisation de l'habitat les maisons A, B et F. Pp. 111-128 in *Ra-Shamra: Rapport III Le Centre de la ville et 44 Campagnes: 9 et 1984*, ed. M. Yon et al. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- Young, C. W.
1974 The Evolutionary Theory of the Causes of War. Pp. 187-198 in *War, Its Causes and Consequences*, ed. M. A. Nettlecup, R. D. Givens, A. Netteship. The Hague: Mouton.
- Younger, K. L., Jr.
1990 *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 98. Sheffield: JSOT.
- Younger, R. W.
1991 A Preliminary Report of the 1990 Season at Tel Gezer: Excavations of the "Outer Wall" and the "Solomonic" Gateway. *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 29: 103-109.
- 1996 Personal communication to Michael G. Hasel. Horn Archaeological Museum, Andrews University. September.
- 1997 Moabite Social Structure. *Biblical Archaeologist* 60: 137-148.
- Younger, R. W., Geraty, L. T., Herr, L. G., LaBianca, G. S.
1993 The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1992 Season Including the Regional Survey and Excavations at Tell Jakh and Tell el-Umeiri. *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 31: 205-238.
- Younger, R. W., Geraty, L. T., LaBianca, G. S., Herr, L. G., Clark, D.
1996 Preliminary Report of the 1994 Season of the Madaba Plains Project Regional Survey, Tell al-Umayri and Tell Jakh Excavations (June 15-July 30, 1994). *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 44: 65-92.

Youssef, A. A.

- 1962 Merenptah's Fourth Year Text at Amada. *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 57: 273-281

- 1983 A Nineteenth Dynasty New Word for Blade and the Semitic Origin of Some Egyptian Weapon-Names and Other Related Words. *Abhandlungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Kairo* 39: 255-260

Youssef, A. A., Leblanc, C., and Maher, A.

- 197 *Le Ramesseum I: Les bas-reliefs de Triomphe et de Dédicace*. Cairo: Centre d'Étude et de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Egypte

Yoyotte, J.

- 1949 Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis I. *Köml* 10: 60-74

- 1950 Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis II. *Köml* 11: 4-12

- 1952 Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis III. *Köml* 12: 1-8

- 1954a Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis IV. *Köml* 13: 77-86

- 1954b Trois gouverneurs de la XIX^e dynastie. À propos de *Égyptien Suif*, Kt B III, 57. *Orientalia* 23: 223-23

- 1962 Le souverain du Pharaon (souverain en Jordanie). *Levi Testamentum* 19: 164-169

Yoyotte, J., and López, J.

- 1967 L'organisation de l'armée et les unités de soldats au nouvel empire égyptien. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 26: 3-19

Yurt, F.

- 1982 Merenptah's Palestinian Campaign. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 8: 70

- 1986 Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 23: 189-193

- 1990 A 2,200-Year-Old Picture of Israelites Found in Egypt. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 18: 26-31

- 1991 Can You Name the Pharaoh who the Israelites? Yurt's Response. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19: 1-12

- 1992 Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign and Israel's Origins. Pp. 27-51 in *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence*, ed. J. S. Friedrichs and L. H. Lesko. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns

Zaccagnini, L.

- 1990 The Transition from Bronze to Iron in the Near East and in the Levant. Marginal Notes. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110: 493-502

Zarna, J.

- 1992 Camel. Pp. 821-826 in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1, ed. D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday

Zavadine, F.

- 1975 Sculpture. Ancient Jordan. Pp. 15-61 in *Treasures from an Ancient Land: The Art of Jordan*, ed. P. Brinkowski. Stroud: Sutton

Zertal, A.

- 1981 The Gates at Gezer. *Éretz-Israel* 15: 221-228. Hebrew

- 1985 The Water Supply Factor in the Israelite Settlement in Manasseh. Pp. 6 in *Settlements, Population and Economy in Ancient Israel: The Annual Memorial Day for T. Aharoni, Abstracts for Lectures*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Hebrew

- 1986-87 An Early Iron Age Cult Site on Mount Ebal. Excavation Seasons 1982-1987. *Tel Aviv* 3: 14-134. Hebrew

- 1988 *The Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country of Manasseh*. Haifa: Haifa University Hebrew

- 1994 "To the Land of the Perizzites and the Giants": On the Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country of Manasseh. Pp. 47-69 in: *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, v. 1, Finkelstein and N. Na'aman. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Zeuner, F. F.
1983 *A History of Domesticated Animals*. London: Hutchinson.
- Zobelius, K.
1977 *Afrikanische Orts- und Volksnamen in hieroglyphischen und literarischen Texten*. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 1 Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- 1984 Ortsnamenbildung. Pp. 619-620 in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 4, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Zobelius-Chen, K.
1988 Die ägyptische Exposition nach Nubien. Eine Darlegung der Grundfaktoren. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, 78 Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- Ziegler, C.
1980 *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'ancien empire et de la première période intermédiaire (ca. 2686-2140 av. J.-C.)*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.
- Zobel H. J.
1982 K'nā'an, k'nā'im. Pp. 224-243 in *Theologische Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, vol. 4, ed. G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Zohary, M.
1981 *Plants of the Bible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Zorn, J. R.
1993 Na'och. Tell en. Pp. 008-1102 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 3, ed. E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 1994 Estimating the Population Size of Ancient Settlements: Methods, Problems, Solutions, and a Case Study. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 295: 31-48.
- Zuhdi, O.
1995/96 A Hellenic Perspective on Metropolitan Life in War-RAM: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt 6: 68-78.
- Zwargel, W.
1990 *Exonymische Ortsnamen im Orientland*. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 81 Wiesbaden: Reichert.

INDEX OF AUTHORS

- Abdel-Kader M., 3
 Aharoni, Y., 4, 132, 133, 138, 139, 147, 163, 165, 173, 182, 216, 258
 Ahituv, S., 2, 114-116, 127, 132, 138, 139, 148, 159, 163, 166, 169, 170, 171, 173, 175, 181, 184, 185, 190
 Ahlström, G. W., 77, 79, 179, 180, 195, 197, 199, 203, 209, 212, 216, 227, 230, 236, 258-264, 268
 Aukermans, P. M. M. G., 2
 Aibert, R., 195, 197
 Albrektsson, B., 15
 Albright, W. F., 2, 4, 5, 93, 110, 115, 116, 117, 132, 138, 147, 148, 160, 165, 170, 175, 207, 208, 209, 211, 216, 220
 Aldred, C., 112
 Alt, A., 99, 102, 115, 132, 147, 156, 161, 175, 199, 216
 Alter, R., 26
 Amiran, R., 108, 128, 132
 Amini, F., 11
 Apter, D., 18
 Arnaud, D., 1
 Arizy, M., 1, 100, 101, 130, 131, 169, 176, 208, 209, 210, 243
 Asaro, F., 11
 Asmann, J., 19, 25
 Astour, M., 3, 227
 Avi-Yonah, M., 188
 Axelsson, L. E., 231
 Bactaw, A., 46, 96, 163, 165
 Bahn, P., 1
 Baines, J., 16, 19, 20, 21
 Balensi, J., 1, 101
 Bar-Yosef, O., 232, 233
 Barkav, G., 100
 Barnett, R. D., 105, 209
 Baron, A. G., 100
 Barta, W., 16
 Barthes, R., 20
 Bartel, B., 116
 Barth, F., 235
 Bartl, K., 2
 Bartlett, J. R., 5, 161, 229, 231
 Basch, L., 101
 Bates, D. G., 235
 Baumgarten, J. J., 243
 Baumgartner, W., 197
 Beal, R. H., 191, 245
 Beck, P., 1, 144, 205
 Beckwith, J. von, 16, 155, 79, 180, 203
 Behrke, R. H., 235
 Beit-Arch, I., 99, 110, 232, 234
 Ben-Arch, S., 104, 113
 Ben-Tor, A., 1, 5, 107, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 243
 Ben-Tor, D., 112, 113
 Bennett, C., 168
 Berg, J., 174
 Berlin, A., 26
 Bianchi, R. S., 112
 Bienkowski, P., 5, 106, 139, 140, 141, 145, 160, 234
 Bierbrer, M. L., 118, 151, 152, 178
 Bietak, M., 94
 Birnson, J. J., 5, 180, 195, 197, 198, 199, 201, 210, 218, 259, 263, 265, 266, 268
 Bostill, J., 1
 Bran, A., 1, 3, 196, 210, 214
 Bjorkman, G., 16
 Blenberg, E., 3, 20, 70, 71, 75, 76, 87
 Blenset, E., 191
 Biss, F. J., 94
 Black-Smidt, E., 170, 171
 Blumenthal, E., 16, 24
 Bonfil, R., 139, 141, 144
 Bonnet, H., 103
 Boochs, W., 1
 Borger, R., 191
 Bortowski, O., 204, 212, 214
 Bottero, J., 4
 Bourke, S. J., 94, 126, 127, 129, 156, 158
 Brand, B., 113
 Braustein-Silveste, F., 209
 Breasted, J. H., 24, 25, 35, 42, 67, 79, 82, 86, 105, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 132, 152, 154, 156, 181, 184, 194, 198, 244, 257, 260, 270
 Breckelmans, C. H. W., 231
 Bresiani, A., 25

- Bright, J., 2, 26
 Brinkman, J. A., 152
 Broadhurst, G., 67, 122, 123, 24, 154
 >
 Brunner, H., 25
 Brunsch, W., 202
 Brunton, G., 98
 Budge, E. A. W., 179, 191
 Buhl, M.-L., 207, 232
 Bull, L., 15, 16
 Bunimovitz, S., 1, 93, 186, 187, 243
 Burchhardt, M., 165, 232
 Burkard, G., 25
 Burney, E. W., 48, 67, 68, 74, 82, 59

 Cahill, J., 138
 Callaway, J. A., 205, 207, 211, 216
 Caneiro, R., 1
 Casperson, L. W., 151, 152, 178
 Catling, H. W., 104
 Cahet, A., 2
 Cerný, J., 35, 38, 111, 179
 Chamberlain, A. I.
 Champion, T. C., 118
 Chanev, M. L., 206
 Chang, G., 234
 Chavane, M.-J., 104
 Cherry, J. F., 116
 Christophe, L.-A., 3
 Cifola, B., 2, 23, 27, 28, 39, 45, 40, 55
 Clamer, C., 94, 100, 108
 Clarke, S., 96
 Claus, H., 147
 Clowes, G. S. L., 101
 Clobbing, F. J., 94
 Cohen, Ralph, 22, 232
 Conder, C. R., 156, 175
 Cooley, R. E., 205, 207
 Coote, R. B., 179, 195, 197, 199, 216, 231, 236
 Cornelius, L., 17, 2, 67
 Courton, J., 144
 Cowen, J. D., 104
 Cowgill, G. L., 254
 Craige, P. G., 26
 Cribb, R., 232
 Cross, F. M., 103
 Crowfoot, J. W., 160, 207

 Dahood, M., 26
 Darnell, J. C., 160
 Davies, G. L., 5

 Davies, P. R., 79, 195, 198
 de Vaux, R., 4, 179, 203, 203, 231, 257, 268
 de Magret, A., 101
 Dearman, J. A., 195
 Demas, M., 211
 Demsky, A., 211
 Dentan, R. G., 15
 Deruda, J., 12
 Desroches-Noblecourt, C., 153
 Desenne, A., 106
 Dever, W. G., 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 93, 118, 117, 135, 137, 139, 143, 144, 152, 154, 179, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 195, 198, 199, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210, 215, 216, 232, 236, 243, 260, 263, 266, 270
 Dietrich, M., 2
 Donnet, H., 195
 Dormemann, R. H., 168, 208
 Dorrell, P. G., 94
 Dorsey, D. A., 184
 Dothan, M., 1, 96, 97, 101, 107, 130, 31, 142, 169, 184, 214
 Dothan, T., 1, 8, 45, 96, 98, 99, 138, 140, 111, 13, 143, 184, 205, 243
 Drews, R., 2, 103, 104, 105, 245, 246
 Driver, G. R., 196
 Drotin, E., 161
 Drower, M. S., 258
 du Busson, M., 2
 Dunavetsky, I., 143

 Eaton-Krauss, M., 152
 Ebach, J., 198
 Eco, U., 18
 Edel, E., 147, 148, 15, 15, 166, 177, 177, 179, 223, 230, 25, 258, 259
 Edelman, D. V., 180, 195, 17, 198, 203, 206, 208, 216, 220, 232, 236, 258, 259, 264, 26, 264
 Edelstein, G., 212
 Edgerton, W. F., 79, 80
 Edwards, P. C., 126
 Eisenstadt, S. N., 14, 1, 6
 Eissfeldt, O., 194, 197
 Ekholm, K., 116
 El-Saad, H., 122, 123, 124
 Emerson, J. A., 203, 26, 262
 Engel, H., 195, 198
 Engelbach, R., 98, 110
 Engnell, L., 17

- Erichsen, W. 238
 Erman, A., 34, 63, 64, 65, 69, 78, 81, 195, 224
 Esse, D., 4, 206, 207, 208, 209
 Eyre, C. J., 21
 Fairman, H. W. 154, 269
 Faulkner, R. O. 3, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 52, 53, 54, 56, 62, 63, 65, 69, 71, 73, 74, 76, 81, 120, 121, 123, 124, 137, 154, 179
 Fecht, G., 3, 25, 76, 79, 155, 180, 81, 184, 194, 95, 198, 257, 259, 260
 Feinman, I. 2
 Feinstein, R. 98
 Fensham, P. C. 24
 Finkelstein, I. 83, 145, 99, 100, 206, 207, 208, 209, 213, 214, 215, 216, 232, 233, 243
 Fischer, C. S., 133
 Fischer-Ellen, H.-W. 171
 FitzGerald, G. M., 133
 Flemming, S. J. 72
 Folmer, G., 199
 Foster, J. L., 25
 Frankson, P. J. 14
 Frankfurt, H. 19, 67
 Franken, R., 132
 Franken, H. J., 144, 168
 Free, J. P., 210
 Freid, M., 1
 Freitas, D. A., 1
 Freuch, E., 144
 Freudo, A. J., 233, 237
 Friedman, J., 18, 116
 Fritz, V., 94, 113, 147, 179, 205, 211, 216, 232
 Funk, R. 207
 Fugmann, I. 2
 Furumark, A. 143
 Gaballa, 3, 21, 27, 46, 68, 74, 119, 121, 123, 124, 152, 153, 170, 171
 Gal, Z., 96, 99, 132, 133, 171, 201, 222
 Guan, 3, 20, 27, 87, 241
 Guanti, I. 191
 Gunning, K., 195
 Guthrie, C. 235
 Gartner, A. H. 3, 74, 47, 45, 65, 67, 69, 75, 77, 78, 98, 99, 114, 120, 22, 129, 137, 147, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 170, 180, 19, 99, 223, 224, 227, 228, 230, 249, 269
 Garfinkel, Y. 17
 Garnsey, P. D. A. 23
 Garstang, J. 32, 139, 47, 82
 Gauthier, H. 55
 Gebel, H. G. 233
 Geertz, C. 18, 19
 Geller, S. A. 26
 Gerhart, M., 22
 Gerrard, A. N. 234
 Gershuny, L., 10, 243
 Gese, H., 15, 16
 Geys, C. H. J. de, 99, 212, 213
 Geys, S. 134
 Gessner, S. 133
 Gilboa, A., 174
 Gilula, M. 114
 Ginn, S. 106, 107, 188
 Gitten, M. 108
 Givens, R. D.
 Givens, R. 3, 69, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270
 Gledhill, J. 69
 Glueck, N., 160, 163, 165, 166, 232
 Gura, A. M. 3
 Gause, R., 216
 Godwin, S., 113
 Goebcke, H., 20, 154, 155, 156, 194, 216
 Goetze, A., 156, 177, 191
 Goldberg, P., 100
 Goldmann, Z., 130, 191, 169
 Goldwasser, O., 95, 113, 114
 Gonen, R., 110, 111, 115, 117, 127, 139, 243
 Gophna, R., 138, 211, 212, 213
 Goren, Y. 98
 Gorg, M., 3, 160, 161, 163, 217, 227, 230, 231, 257
 Goring-Morris, A. N. 233
 Gottwald, N. K., 16, 199, 212, 22, 23
 Gould, J., 18
 Grapow, H., 23, 24, 34, 63, 64, 65, 69, 78
 Gravson, A. K., 191
 Grdseloff, B., 229, 230

- Greenberg R., 1
 Grishammer R., 184
 Grimal, N.-C., 3, 26, 79
 Groll, S. L., 114
 Grove, G., 175
 Gunneweg, H. J. G., 199
 Guterbock H. G., 159
- Habachi, L., 3, 95
 Habermas, J., 18
 Hachmann, R., 104
 Haider P. W., 153, 16
 Hakar A., 211
 Hall, E. S., 70, 37, 39, 80, 104
 Hall, H. B., 179
 Hallo, W. W., 155
 Halpern, B., 179, 195, 216, 259, 264
 Hamilton, R. W., 101, 128
 Hankov, H., 20
 Hankov V. B., 144, 167, 205
 Haran, L., 177
 Harding, G. J., 108, 168
 Harding, L., 100
 Harif, A., 94
 Harrison, R. K., 209
 Harrison, T., 168
 Hart S., 233, 234
 Hasek M. G., 180, 34
 Hauptmann, A., 184
 Hayes, J. H., 260, 268, 274
 Hayes, W. G., 151, 152, 153, 18
 Hecke K.-H., 199, 203
 Heick, W., 2, 3, 4, 16, 22, 42, 63, 69, 75
 78, 99, 114, 118, 119, 137, 139
 47, 148, 152, 153, 163, 170, 18
 179, 180, 196, 197, 217, 220, 30
 231, 234, 257, 258, 259, 268, 274
 Hennessey, J. B., 167
 Henry, D. O., 233
 Hermann, A., 184
 Herr, L. G., 68, 208, 210
 Herrera, M. D., 1, 101
 Herrmann, C., 17
 Herrmann, S., 21, 219, 223, 231
 Herzog, Z., 213
 Hew, R. S., 256
 Hegenhoth, C., 94, 96, 102, 98
 109, 6, 3, 19
 Heckenroth, O., 104
 Hodgkinson, S., 235
 Hoffmeier, J. K., 2, 3, 5, 27, 34, 59, 72
 98, 185, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 216
 237, 258, 259, 268, 269, 270, 27
 Hoffner, H. A., 159
 Hogland, K. G., 229, 234
 Holl, A. F. C., 12
 Holm-Nielsen, S., 20
 Holtzner, R., 108
 Hopkins, D. C., 202, 204, 210, 211
 212, 235, 236
 Horn, S. H., 112, 147, 154
 Horning, E., 3, 16, 19, 79, 118, 152,
 178, 180, 181, 84, 194, 195,
 98, 217, 259
 Horowitz, W., 134, 135
 Hourwitsen, Cate P. H. L., 19
 Huminga, J., 22
- Huch, R. D., 160
 Hudson, M. M., 168, 207, 208
 Inge, C. H., 100
 Israeli-Groll, S., 9
 Isertun, B. S. J., 168
- Jack, J. W., 198
 James, I.
 James, F. W., 93, 96, 97, 105, 107, 98,
 13, 135, 136, 171, 172
 Jankuhn, D., 19
 Jansen-Winkel, K., 22, 118
 Jansen, J. J., 2
 Jasnow, R., 164
 Ji, C. C., 207
 Jirku, A., 3, 147
 Johnson, H. M., 27, 28
 Jones, S., 21
 Joukowski, M. S., 2
- Kafit, Z., 65
 Kafri, U., 4
 Kalla, Z., 147
 Kalkbeck, J., 144, 168
 Kamp, K. A., 4, 2, 5
 Kaplan, J., 107
 Kapony-Heckel, I., 77, 79, 181, 184,
 194, 195, 198, 257
 Karagregina, V., 200
 Karcz, L., 4
 Katzenstein, H. J., 137, 158
 Kausen, E., 82
 Keel, O., 17, 266
 Kelly, K. G., 12
 Keso, J. L., 1, 205, 207

- Kemp, B. J., 14, 116
 Kempinski, A., 94, 95, 97, 175, 201,
 205, 211, 232, 243
 Kenyon, K. M., 4, 115, 117, 140, 141
 Kepers, S., 12
 Kertész, T., 113
 Khazanov, A., 232
 King, L. W., 191
 Knap, K.
 Kanner Wilson, J. V., 191
 Kaley, M., 212
 Kitchen, K. A., 24, 35, 39, 41, 42, 43,
 44, 46, 48, 49, 53, 55, 67, 73, 84, 118,
 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 130, 131,
 138, 146, 147, 148, 151, 152, 153,
 155, 157, 159, 160, 163, 164, 165,
 167, 168, 170, 177, 178, 179, 180,
 198, 194, 197, 198, 200, 218, 219,
 221, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230,
 231, 236, 238, 247, 248, 258
 Kitchener, H. H., 175
 Kiengel, H., 2
 Klostermann, E., 132
 Knapp, A. B., 12, 117, 127, 128
 Knauf, E. A., 165, 230, 234, 236
 Knauf-Bollen, E. A., 234
 Knoch, A., 175
 Knudtzon, J. A., 130
 Kochavi, M., 1, 94, 144, 201, 211, 214
 Koehler, L., 197
 Korošec, V., 191
 Koster, H. A., 233
 Kraus, R., 118, 151, 152, 178, 179
 Krecher, J., 15
 Kruchten, J.-M., 125
 Kugel, J. L., 26
 Kuschke, A., 156, 170
 Kyle, M. G., 160

 LaBianca, G. S., 162, 163, 168, 212,
 215
 LaCapra, D., 22
 Lambdin, T. O., 220
 Lamon, R. S., 105
 Lancaster Harding, G., 104
 Lance, H. D., 179, 18, 1854
 Landes, G. M., 16
 Landsberger, O., 139
 Langton, S., 152
 Lapp, N., 207, 214
 Lapp, P. W., 2, 4, 21
 Larsen, M. Y., 69
 LeBlanc, C., 42, 46, 47, 80
 LeBlanc, S., 8
 LeClair, J., 10
 Lederman, Z., 1
 Lemare, A., 195, 197
 Lemche, N. P., 195, 197, 199, 203, 216
 Leonard, A., 93, 108, 168
 Lesko, L. H., 2
 Levy, T. E., 12
 Lieberman, G., 18
 Lieberman, M., 31, 25, 44, 54, 180,
 181, 194, 198, 257
 Liebowitz, H., 1, 105, 106, 117, 47,
 48, 149
 Lindner, M., 233
 Lipowicz, G., 158
 Liverani, M., 2, 20, 69, 70, 75
 Lowak, R., 175
 Lombard, P., 14
 London, G., 204, 207, 208, 209
 Loretz, O., 2
 Lorton, D., 3, 26, 27, 43, 49, 73, 75,
 220, 221, 222, 224, 227, 229
 Loud, G., 105, 167
 Lowth, R., 27
 Luckenbill, D. D., 191
 Lukacs, G., 18
 Lury, J., 232

 Maaveh, F. S., 168
 Macalister, R. A. S., 93, 104, 105, 107,
 184, 186
 MacDonald, E., 108, 232, 233, 234
 Maier, A. M., 93
 Magen, I., 1
 Maher, A., 42, 46, 47, 80
 Maister, B., 10
 Maksoud, M. A. el., 96
 Malamat, A., 2, 15, 139, 179, 216, 260,
 261
 Mannheim, K., 18
 Manor, D. W., 235
 Mare, W. H., 168
 Marfor, L., 158
 Margalith, O., 194, 195, 196, 197, 198,
 216
 Margueron, J., 1
 Marks, A. E., 233
 Martin, M. F., 160, 167
 Marx, K., 18
 Mathias, V. T., 156
 Mathieu, B., 25

- Marnagly, G. L. 160, 195
 Maxwell-Hyslop, R., 104
 Mayer, W. 155, 191
 Mayer-Opificius, R., 155
 Mazar, A., 1, 2, 4, 117, 133, 134, 135, 136, 172, 173, 184, 197, 199, 205, 207, 208, 210, 211, 243
 Mazar, B., 2, 101, 227, 231
 McCleuen, T. L., 1, 2
 McGovern, P. E., 99, 96, 97, 112, 112, 113, 117, 127, 135, 136, 168, 171, 172
 Menges, R., 83
 Meurdenhall, G. E., 161, 216
 Meyer, E., 179
 Meyers, C., 2
 Meza, A. I., 107
 Michel, E., 191
 Muidant-Reynes, B., 209
 Milik, J. T., 103
 Miller, J. M., 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 166, 168, 215, 216, 260, 268, 271
 Montet, P., 106, 179
 Moor, J. C., de 230
 Moran, W. L., 135, 146, 182, 192, 258
 Morena, S., 17
 Morrison, M. A., 268, 270
 Morschauer, S., 3, 27, 42, 43, 44, 151, 152
 Morton, W. H., 164
 Moscati, S., 27
 Moss, R. L. B., 48, 67, 68, 74, 82, 156
 Müller, D., 3
 Müller, H.-P., 15
 Müller, H. W., 104
 Müller, W. M., 42, 220
 Müller-Wunder, C., 142
 Müller-Wollermann, R., 69, 75
 Mumford, G., 142
 Murnane, W. J., 9, 118, 119, 122, 123, 124, 130, 137, 141, 179, 194, 197, 228
 Naaman, N., 3, 87, 115, 116, 117, 147, 148, 188, 195, 199, 204, 216, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261
 Nagel, G., 98, 108
 Naue, J., 104
 Naumann, R., 143
 Naveh, J., 196
 Naville, E., 179
 Negbi, O., 173
 Nerfleship, A., 1
 Nerfleship, M. A., 1
 Netzer, E., 108
 New, R., 79, 97, 216
 New, A., 180, 194, 195, 197, 203, 257
 Nielsen, K., 209
 Noth, M., 23, 42, 147, 154, 161, 170, 175, 216, 231
 Oates, D., 1
 Ockinga, B., 20, 155
 Oettinger, N., 191
 Offer, A., 204
 Ohata, K., 108, 214
 Olavson, E., 208
 Olsen, E., 45, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 108, 110, 113, 115, 117, 228, 243
 Orbusiv, H. M., 199
 Oung, J., 24
 Otto, E., 16, 19, 155
 Ovedah, A., 137
 Owen, D. J., 97, 208
 Parker, R. A., 141, 152
 Parker, S., 26
 Parr, P. J., 56
 Peden, A. J., 178
 Pedrette, P. H., 164
 Perach, I., 99
 Perexolovsky, A., 243
 Perlman, I., 111
 Perans, A., 27
 Pernu, W. M., 1, 7, 93, 99, 105, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 260
 Perard, M., 2, 156
 Phillips, J., 233
 Phythian-Adams, W. J., 137, 182
 Picher, E. J., 188
 Platt, E. E., 112
 Polanyi, K., 69
 Porana, E., 210
 Porath, Y., 107, 138, 211, 214
 Porter, B., 48, 67, 68, 74, 82, 149
 Porter, J. M., 139
 Pouener, G., 4, 130, 139, 181, 217
 Potts, T., 1, 94, 126, 127, 128, 166, 167, 168
 Powell, T. G. E., 246
 Press, G. A., 15
 Pritchard, J. B., 45, 50, 67, 82, 207
 Raban, A., 188, 169
 Radwan, A., 19

- Rainey, A. F., 42, 68, 130, 153, 156,
 162, 175, 180, 195, 199, 200, 201,
 210, 224, 236, 258, 259, 266, 270
 Rast, W. F., 207
 Read, D. W., 8
 Redford, D. B., 3, 5, 21, 22, 23, 35, 114,
 118, 139, 145, 151, 152, 153, 162,
 163, 179, 185, 197, 200, 227, 229,
 231, 237, 258
 Redman, C. L., 8
 Reed, W. L., 164
 Reich, R., 184
 Rendeburg, G. A., 179, 195, 198, 203
 Renfrew, C., 1, 12, 116, 144
 Rensio, M., 104
 Retad, J., 210
 Richards, F. V., 129
 Rapinsky, M., 209, 210
 Ritter-Kaplan, H., 1
 Robinson, E., 125, 156
 Rogerson, J. W., 199
 Rollog, W., 195
 Ron, Z., 212
 Rosel, H. N., 195, 209, 216
 Rosen, S. A., 232, 233
 Rosenfeld, B.-Z., 184
 Rosenthal, F., 26
 Rowneat, I., 2
 Rothenberg, B., 99, 100, 149, 232, 234,
 235
 Rowe, A., 97, 100, 101, 111, 113, 120,
 133, 134, 135, 136, 153, 249
 Rowson, M. B., 151, 152, 178
 Russell, J. M., 192

 Saatalo, A., 147, 209
 Sabloff, J. A., 1
 Sader, H., 2
 Safran, S., 132
 Safran, Z., 132
 Saggs, H. W. F., 191
 Sauer, J. A., 168, 208
 Sève-Söderbergh, T., 100
 Schachermeyr, F., 245
 Schaeffer, C. F. A., 2, 7, 104, 144
 Schäfer, H., 37
 Schiffer, M. B., 4, 8, 9
 Schjuda, J. D., 42, 151, 154
 Schoske, S., 118
 Schuman, A., 3, 42, 45, 48, 83, 99, 100,
 105, 113, 114, 245, 246, 247
 Schwartz, J., 184
 Seck, K. G., 119, 151
 Seger, J., 4, 5, 184, 185
 Segert, S., 26
 Sethe, K., 182
 Seton-Williams, M. V., 2
 Shanks, H., 13
 Sharon, I., 174, 206, 214
 Shea, W. H., 5, 99, 185
 Shershevskii, J., 96, 99, 243
 Shuloh, Y., 1
 Shils, E., 18
 Shipman, G. M., 105
 Shrum-Grunmach, I., 25
 Simons, J. J., 3, 119, 130, 154, 159, 160,
 171
 Simpson, W. K., 155
 Sinclair, L., 207
 Singer, I., 2, 95, 95, 107, 117, 179, 184,
 186, 188, 197, 206, 216, 260
 Skjeggstad, M., 206, 215
 Smol, P., 2
 Smith, E., 156, 232
 Smith, G. A., 148
 Smith, R. H., 94, 125, 126, 127, 128,
 166, 168
 Smith, S. T., 116, 117
 Smith, A., 99
 Soden, W., von 19
 Soren, D., 4
 Sourouzian, H., 200
 Spalinger, A. J., 1, 22, 23, 24, 25, 110,
 121, 122, 123, 124, 137, 154, 156,
 227, 228, 230, 244
 Spencer, A. J., 97
 Spiegelberg, W., 78, 179, 181, 184, 194,
 198, 217
 Stade, B., 232
 Stadelmann, R., 152
 Stager, L. E., 2, 50, 68, 100, 111, 153,
 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 195, 197,
 198, 199, 200, 204, 206, 210, 212,
 213, 215, 224, 237, 259, 263, 264,
 265, 271
 Starnum, J. J., 197
 Starkey, J. L., 108
 Staubb, T., 153, 20, 220, 228, 237, 270
 Stein, H. E., 79, 195, 198, 259, 264
 Steindorff, G., 110, 198
 Stern, E., 174
 Soebing, W. H., 2, 216
 Stolz, F., 258, 260, 268, 270
 Stubbings, F., 24

- Swann, C. P., 1-2
- Tazmor, H., 195
- Tadmor, M., 104, 139
- Tauster, J. A., 254
- Tarier, D., 48
- Teflon, R., 2, 3, 154, 244
- Thompson, H. O., 34, 73
- Thompson, T. L., 195, 99, 200, 212, 216
- Thurston, T. L., 12
- Ties, C., 1
- Tison, S., 53, 159, 160, 162, 65
- Triggar, B., 8
- Tsai, J. N., 1, 94, 104, 168
- Tsai, C. L., 100, 101
- Tushingham, A. D., 164, 208
- Uehlinger, C., 90, 258
- Upham, E., 206
- Usashkin, D., 1, 2, 99, 205
- Van Beek, G., 73, 243
- Van der Kooij, G., 1
- Van Hasche-Merchez, F., 3
- Van Nieuwen, J., 1, 16, 22
- Van Nieuwen, C. L., 118, 152, 178
- Veniz, S., 1, 6
- Ventura, R., 20, 11
- Vogel, F., 95
- Volter, A., 10
- Voych, W., 66
- Wachsmann, S., 100
- Wille, B. van de, 98
- Walmsley, A. G., 94, 120
- Wapman, P., 209
- Ward, W. A., 2, 113, 43, 15, 152, 60, 162, 6, 98, 8, 14, 17, 218, 220, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 231, 234
- Warman, F., 160
- Watkins, T., 216
- Watson, P. J., 8
- Watson, W. G. F., 26
- Way, T. von der, 1, 154
- Webster, D., 1
- Werner, E. F., 19
- Wernfeld, M., 230, 231
- Weinstein, J. M., 2, 3, 5, 14, 35, 44, 94, 99, 100, 101, 106, 107, 108, 113, 15, 17, 2, 163, 167, 169, 70, 185
- Weippert, H., 216
- Weippert, M., 163, 164, 179, 216, 217, 220, 228, 230
- Weingerber, G., 234
- Weisman, Z., 99, 231
- Wess, H., 2
- Weustrod, T., 99
- Wente, E. F., 118, 152, 154, 178, 264, 265
- Whitlam, K. W., 216, 231
- Wildung, D., 16, 37, 266
- Wilkinson, R. H., 3
- Williams, R. J., 20, 179, 198, 265, 266, 268
- Wilson, J. A., 29, 24, 25, 55, 75, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 138, 147, 153, 154, 155, 171, 177, 179, 180, 181, 184, 94, 198, 202, 221, 229, 251, 257, 260, 262, 270
- Wimmer, D., 168
- Wimmer, S., 99, 100, 114
- Winnert, F. A., 164
- Wiseman, D. J., 191
- Wolff, S. R., 100, 107
- Wood, B. G., 2, 8, 9, 201, 257
- Woolley, J., 40
- Worscher, L. F., 160, 16, 62, 163, 165, 166
- Wroblewski, W., 93, 36, 46, 48, 49, 50, 80, 82, 83, 119, 146, 153, 157, 160, 80, 181, 243, 245
- Wright, G. E., 1, 2, 4, 110, 167, 179, 84, 18, 116, 252
- Wurt, N., 15
- Yadin, Y., 1, 2, 4, 5, 50, 51, 87, 133, 39, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 86, 205, 211, 216, 245, 247
- Yama, E., 185, 186, 243
- Yama, E., 12, 102
- Yam, S., 2, 203
- Yisraeli, Y., 1
- Yoffe, N., 1, 12, 2, 5, 254
- Yon, M., 2, 104
- Younger, K. L., 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 84, 87, 191
- Yunker, R. W., 1, 93, 162, 163, 168, 185, 186, 188, 208, 243, 250
- Youssef, A. A., 12, 46, 47, 80, 179, 198
- Yurco, F., 3, 35, 44, 50, 68, 76, 79, 153, 170, 180, 181, 182, 184, 188, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203,

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 219, 224, 226, 257, 258, 259, 264,
265, 270 | Zibelius, K. 198 |
| Zarias, J., 209 | Zobel, H. J. 258 |
| Zayadine, F., 167 | Zohary, M. 82 |
| Zerral, A., 204, 207, 208, 212 | Zori, N., 198 |
| Zenner, F. E., 209 | Zorn, J. R., 211, 242 |
| | Zuhdi, O., 179 |

INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND PLACES

- Abeldiyeh, Tell el. 147
 Abu Danut, Tell. 2
 Abu Hurrenah. 175
 Abu Hawana, Tell. 1 131, 112, 28, 243
 Abu Matar. 2 1
 Abu Simba. 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 57, 58
 on st. 47, 72, 51, 154, 245
 Abydos. 29, 30, 36, 53, 61, 67, 72, 25,
 33, 147, 52, 154
 Adir. 160
 Ain Ibl. 163
 Agul, Tell el. 112, 113, 115
 Aqurhan. 134, 139
 Akko (Tell el-Fukhar). 48, 49, 101, 102,
 113, 26, 130, 140, 153, 157, 58,
 169-170, 176, 196
 Akha. 31, 36, 54
 Al Khirbet el-. 160
 alabaster, 102, 103, 108, 111
 Alalakh. 140, 258
 Mamm. el-. 39, 72
 Amada. 24, 35, 41, 43, 44, 46, 63, 66,
 179, 180, 184, 190
 Amara West. 24, 31, 36, 41, 46, 54, 66,
 71, 72, 74, 154, 157, 159, 166, 219,
 223, 230, 231, 247
 Amarna. 69, 97, 130, 135, 146, 147,
 48, 185, 192, 258
 Amenem-Opet, 131
 Amenemhet III. 144
 Amenhotep II, 19, 257, 260
 Amenhotep III, 143, 148, 174, 175, 219,
 224, 229, 230
 Amneno, 182
 Amman. 104, 165, 167, 168, 208
 Ammon (Ammonite). 161, 162, 168
 Amorites. 4
 amulets. 92, 103, 112, 149
 Amun-Re. 32, 36, 37, 68, 69, 71, 74, 89,
 20
 Amurru. 31, 40, 41, 42, 56, 57, 61, 67,
 120, 121, 123, 124, 154, 157, 231, 258
 anthropoid coffins. 92, 103, 110-111
 Denyen occupants, 110
 Egyptian occupants, 111
 Philistine occupants, 110
 provenience of, 111
 anthropology. 1
 Aphet. 94, 95, 100, 102, 119, 115,
 116, 153, 170, 190, 205, 206, 208,
 214
 Aqur. 103
 Arabian. 136, 235
 Arad. 160
 architecture (Egyptian in southern Le-
 vant). 92, 94, 98
 Ard el-Kerek. 161
 Ardata. 75, 251
 armory. 102
 A-se-ma. 45
 Ash-Shorabat. 234
 Ashdod. 1, 107, 109, 113, 187, 214
 Asiklon (Akko/bn). 50, 51, 52, 57, 72,
 87, 100, 102, 116, 153, 179, 180, 181,
 84, 190, 196, 199, 202, 203, 213,
 247, 255, 260, 262, 263, 264, 265,
 267, 268, 269, 270
 Ashurpanipal. 102
 Assuan Pylae Inscription. 23
 Assur. 159, 162, 258
 Assina Assyrian. 191, 192, 251
 Assur. 94, 95, 96, 97
 Assal. 46
 Bab-edli Dura. 211
 Babylon. 230
 Bala a. Khirbet. 160, 161, 167
 Balu'a Stela. 160, 161
 Basham. 124
 Batt. 165, 166, 168
 Batra. Khirbet el-. 165, 166
 Beana. 130, 133
 Beersheba. 214
 behavior reconstruction of. 9
 Bent el-Wah. 31, 36, 46, 53, 54, 56, 66,
 68
 Bent Mursam, Tell. 1 112
 Beqah Valley. 168, 230
 Be. 111
 Bed. Anath. Be. 120, 32, 133, 150,
 153, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163
 Beth Lot. Be. 165
 Beth Shan. Be. 1, 24, 37, 38, 56, 57,
 39, 73, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 100, 102,

- 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 119, 120, 24
124, 125, 126, 129, 133, 134, 135
136, 137, 138, 140, 150, 3, 22
157, 158, 167, 7, 173, 177, 88
190, 192, 210, 243, 250, 25, 255,
258
Beth Shemesh, 93, 112, 113
Beth Zur, 207
Bethel, 207
Beitin, 1
Bir el-Abd, 97, 102, 39, 243
Buryazawa, 147
Brak, Tell, 1
bricks, Egyptian type, 47
bronze vessels, 111
Bukata, 31, 34, 36, 72, 2, 9
Bukhan, 29
Byblos, 29, 54, 211
Bzant. 157, 158, 159, 162, 165-66,
178, 177
Caesarea, 132
camels (trade), 206, 2, 1
Cana, *Kmt*, 15, 73, 176, 90
Canaan, *An* 4, 98, 72, 3, 1, 180
189, 198, 200, 50, 203, 201, 230,
297, 260, 26, 263, 13, 20, 260
267, 268, 269, 70, 27
captives (see also prisoners), 66, 67, 71
73-74, 87, 89, 17
brothers *an*, 66
children *an*, 66
children *an*, 66
cutting off right hands, 66
cutting off phall, 66
wives *an*, 66
capturing (see also plundering), 44, 67
Cape Carmel, 1
Carmel Mount, 190
cavalry, 80
cedar of Lebanon, 82
chariot fittings, 103, 104-105
chariotry, 98, 104-105, 245-246
cisterns, 204, 210, 2
chronology
Egyptian
relative, 9
Chysma, 64, 65, 219
collapse
causative theories, 7
of Bronze Age, 1-2, 254
colonialism, 113, 117
Companion Obelisk, 30
"Cour de la cachette" Karnak
dating of, 181, 199-200
and Israel, 194-201
and Canaan, 200-201
and Nubia of Canaan, 200-201, 219
220-221, 237
cylinder seal (Mitannian), 149, 186
Cyprus, 215
Dan, Tell, 1, 196, 214
Dapur, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 56, 59, 60, 66
67, 153, 157, 176, 190, 247
Dawara, Khirbet ed-, 205
defendants, Egypt's enemy
bowing in submission, 43, 48, 51
82, 18
burning incense, 51
cutting down trees, 45, 82
fighting on the battlefield, 45, 46
hands raised in surrender, 45, 51
lying, 45
lying in piles before the king, 247
Deir Alla, Tell, 1, 143, 168, 205
Deir el-Bahri, 101
Deir el-Balah, 98, 99, 102, 108, 109,
110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 243
Deir el-Medina, 98, 118
demography, 71
Denyva, 79, 110
Derr, 66, 68, 72
Deshashet, 247
destruction (Egyptian; see also military
actions)
by battering ram, 47, 246-247, 253
by conflagration, 80, 84-88, 89,
150, 190-193, 248-249, 253
by open-terrain warfare, 6, 244-
246, 251
by sapping, 247, 248, 253
by scaling, 247, 253
by siege warfare, 42-52, 18, 246-
249, 253
causative theories, 2
chronology of, 5
correlates of, 71, 92, 190-193,
253
extension of, 249, 252
focus of, 8, 240-244
means of, 244-249, 253
of administrative, cultic, and do-
mestic buildings, 250-251

- of cities and villages, 44, 88, 42, 244
- of crops, orchards, trees, 49, 75-83, 87-88, 89, 192, 201, 202
- of enemies and inhabitants, 87, 242
- of gates and defensive systems, 45, 46, 48-49, 51, 52, 243, 250
- of grain, 75, 76, 77, 82, 83
- of seeds, 7, 40
- of sites in the southern Levant, 1-2
- of trees, 75, 76, 82-83
- paradigm of, 5-7
- wholesale, 244, 253
- destruction correlates of sites
 - Akko, 131
 - Beth Shan, 136, 172
 - Gezer, 180, 181
 - Hazor, 140-144
 - Nebi Mend. Tell, Kadesh, 158
 - Pella, 127
 - Yin am, Tell, 149
- determinatives, 9
 - for "captive," 22, 222
 - for grain, 7
 - for grain of seed, 77
 - for "subcountry/land/city-state," 100, 198, 199, 201, 203, 250
 - for "people," 108, 199, 201
 - for "phallos with liquid issuing forth," 4
 - for "plow," 77, 79
- Dibon (Tell Dibwan; *Ti bu-wan*), 157, 158, 159, 160, 163-165, 176, 177, 190, 208
- Dishy, 58, 78
- fortification
 - economically motivated, 92, 114, 116
 - geographically motivated, 116
 - neogeographically motivated, 92, 117
 - politically motivated, 92, 117
- doorjambs, 92, 98, 103, 106-107
- Dor Tell (*Tayr²*), 153, 158, 190
- Dothan, 10
- Dubab, Khirbet, 234
- earthquakes, 8
- Ebal Mt., 205, 208
- Ebla, 195
- economic interests (of Egypt), 96, 114, 115, 116, 197
- economy
 - of palace, 75
 - of temple, 75, 114
- Edom, Ekfomites, 154, 157, 161, 162, 199, 224, 225, 229, 231, 232, 236
- Eam, 192
- elir emmanon, 109, 117
- Emar, 1
- Emtes, 162
- empire, Egyptian, 115
- Eusebius, 132
- execration texts, 130, 139
- expansion of Egypt, 14, 115
- Faqous, Tell, 1
- Farah, Tell el-'S, 1, 93, 95, 105, 106, 108, 109, 114, 175, 180
- Fenan, 234
- birds, 76, 81, 237
- Flamman Obelisk, 30
- funerary processes, 8
- fortification
 - reality of in rebel, 45, 99, 244
 - in L.B./Iron Age transition, 139, 142, 243
- forts, 12, 90, 19
- Frav. Tell, 2
- Ful, Tell el-, 214
- Gadzer, 168, 176, 204
- Gaza, Gdr. Tell Harubel, 96, 98, 99, 105, 108, 109, 126, 137, 150, 181, 182, 183, 188, 238, 258, 260
- Ge'el Barkel, 118
- Ge'el Shaul, 34, 34, 58, 59, 70, 72, 109, 131
- Genot Tell, 104
- grave analysis, 25
- Geshur, 25
- Gezer (Tell Jerer; *Gdr*), 1, 35, 43, 44, 72, 88, 93, 104, 105, 107, 112, 179, 180, 183, 184, 88, 189, 190, 193, 196, 198, 199, 200, 203, 211, 243, 250, 251, 252, 255, 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270
- Ghor, Southern, 232, 233
- Gibeah, 207
- Gibeon, 186, 207
- gifts, 69, 75
- Gidoh, 205, 208, 211, 213
- Giza, 20, 57
- governor's residences, 92, 93-96, 102, 186, 188

- grain, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 95, 97
 14, 192, 213-214, 237
 confiscating, 192, 23
 cutting down, 82
 burning down, 82, 83
 offerings, 98, 113, 114
- granary, 97
- Gurub, 98
- Habous, Tell, 98, 102, 109
- Hama, 2
- Hamanu Elami, 192
- Hamud el-Turkman, 2
- Hamunath (Tell el-Hamunah: *Hmt.*, 125,
 26, 129, 133, 136, 137, 138, 150,
 190, 255
- Haror Tell, 114, 75
- Haruba, 97, 98, 102, 109, 241
- harvest, 76, 77, 79, 81, 102
- Hathor, 99, 100, 112
- Hatu, *Hutes.*, 34, 42, 58, 60, 78, 81,
 123, 124, 129, 152, 154, 155, 157,
 159, 162, 179, 192, 203, 221, 222,
 229, 245, 248, 254, 255, 258, 261,
 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268,
 269, 271
- Hattusha, 258
- Haya, 95, 102
- Hazor (Tell el-Qedah, *Hazar*), 1, 5, 94,
 104, 107, 126, 138-146, 147, 148,
 150, 211, 214, 243, 250, 251, 252
- Heliopolis, 29, 30
- Heslani, Tell, 160, 208
- Hew, Tell el-, 94, 95, 109
- Hirbeh, Tell el-, 132, 133
- hieratic inscriptions, 92, 113-114
- historiography
 Egyptian concept of, 152
 genre and, 22
- historicism, 16
- Horemhab, 27
- Horus, 37
- Haru, *Hmt.*, 189, 198, 200, 201, 203,
 204, 223, 227, 228, 231, 238, 261,
 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268,
 269, 270, 271
 as ethnicon, 259
 as parallel with Israel, 259, 263,
 264, 271
 geographic extent, 259-260
 occurrences and context, 259
- Hyksos, 218, 245
- iconography, 88-90
 as comparative to texts, 27
 as narrative art, 27
 culminating scene, 27
 multiple scenes, variation, 27
- ideology, 6, 19, 20, 21, 26, 87, 92,
 12
- imperialism, 13, 93, 15, 17
- infancy, 244, 245
- Inty, 247
- invasion hypothesis, 2, 4
- Iqrit, 132
- Irgata, 5
- Ismahia, 2, 9
- Israel, *Israel*, 7, 3, 2, 4, 27, 78, 79,
 179, 180, 191, 236, 244, 255, 261,
 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268,
 269, 271
- archaeology of, 204-215
 Jerusalem excavations for, 198-199
 ethnicity, 206-215
 identification, 191
 location, 195, 203-204, 236
 name, 195-198
 settlement and context, 193
 as nomadic/pastoral, 194
 settlement of, 204-206, 236
 Karnak reliefs, 199-201
 text, 191, 195, 201-203, 216
- Isy, 92, 94, 103, 105-106, 107
- Izbit Sartah, 205, 208, 209, 211, 213
- Jaffa, 1, 107, 109
- Jalul, Tell, 168, 177, 208
- Jatt, 132
- Jawa, Tell, 208
- Jemneh, Tell, 93, 95, 109, 209, 243
- Jerusalem, 100, 212, 213
- Jewell, 103-104
- jewelry, 111, 131
- Jezreel, 19
- Ji, 33
- Jordan (Valley), 153, 231, 231
- Kadesh, Barde of, 20, 24, 33, 36, 39,
 45, 53, 54, 56, 61, 63, 70, 71, 73, 84,
 85, 121, 152, 154, 155, 176, 192, 221,
 222, 223, 229, 244, 245
- Kadesh, Tell Neta Mend: *Adh.*, 31, 40,
 41, 46, 55, 57, 61, 67, 73, 20, 121,
 123, 152, 155, 156-159, 176, 234
- Kadesh, Galilee, 120, 132

- Kāmid el-Lōz. *Kumda*, 104, 130, 158, 258
- Kanana, 39, 41, 38, 53, 56, 66, 119, 218
- Karnak, 3, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 70, 71, 72, 74, 82, 84, 86, 96, 99, 101, 103, 119, 121, 122, 124, 129, 130, 133, 137, 146, 151, 153, 154, 157, 166, 169, 170, 171, 173, 176, 179, 181, 182, 183, 214, 225, 226, 228, 229, 238, 247, 48, 249, 251, 252
- Kenan. *See* 308, 309
- Kenak. *See* 106
- Khadr el-. 103
- Khona, 68
- Khorsabad, 19.
- king
as fearless leader, 2.
as good god, 17, 57
center of military activity, 87, 88, 89
divinity of, 39, 87
legitimation of, 16, 20, 71, 76, 87
size of, in battle, 2, 17, 67
trampling enemy, 68-69
- kingship, 19-20, 26
- Kinnon, 101
- Kom el-Ahmar, 41, 53, 63, 64, 66, 72, 3, 81, 179
- Kush, 39, 223
- Labayu, 135
- Laban, 231
- Lachish, 1, 99, 100, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 205
- Lapis-lazuli, 71
- Lebanon, 40, 65, 67, 70, 71, 82, 83, 129, 251
- legitimation, 87
- Legûn, Wadi el-, 160, 163, 66, 168
- Libya, Libyana, 73, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 86, 105, 121, 124, 179, 197, 198, 219, 251, 255, 262, 263, 266, 267, 269, 270
- obelisks, 92, 103, 106-107
- oases (topographical), 8, 150, 153-154, 159, 173, 174
- oligarchy (in Egypt), 20-2, 26
- Luxor, 24, 31, 33, 42, 43, 46, 48, 49, 53, 59, 66, 68, 72, 74, 82, 121, 34, 37, 159, 163, 170, 175, 176, 219, 245, 251
- Madaba, 168
- Mantua, 118
- Mar-, 158
- Mashuta, Tell el-, 37, 66, 222
- Masos, Tell, 94, 95, 106, 111, 15, 205, 251
- material culture, 91
- Mawatani, 159
- Medinet Habu, 81, 100, 101, 103, 110
- Medimah, Khirbet el-, 160, 208
- Megiddo, 1, 94, 103, 105, 106, 112, 22, 89, 192, 207, 208, 209, 214, 243, 258
- Mekal, 134
- Memphis, 30, 219
- Mender, 30
- Merneptah
accession date, 178
campaign to Canaan, 178-180, 198, 200, 201
campaign to Libya, 179
campaign to Nubia, 179
chronology of campaigns, 176-179
general chronology, 176
length of reign, 178
- Merneptah Stela
and Israel, 194, 195, 201, 204, 205, 116, 217
and Israelite origins, 216
structure of, 260-27
- Merom, 153, 157, 176
- Mesha Stela, 160, 195, 196
- Mesheah, 34, 72, 77, 80, 249
- Mevorakh, Tell, 208
- Midian, 162, 173
- models, 96-97
- military accounts
Amara letters, 192
Assyrian, 191, 192
Egyptian
Hittite, 191-192
- military tactics. *See also* captives, destruction, prisoners
battering ram, 47, 246-247, 253
burning cities, 80, 84-88, 89, 150, 190, 193, 248-249, 253
capturing, 41, 66, 17, 71, 73-74, 87, 89, 237
destroying crops, orchards, and

- trees, 49, 75-83, 87, 88, 89, 197
 201-202
 hacking down gate systems, 45, 46,
 48-49, 51, 52, 243, 244
 open-terrain warfare, 6, 244, 246,
 255
 plundering, 41-52, 66, 72, 73, 181
 192, 204, 205
 sapping, 47, 48, 253
 scaling, 51, 247-253
 siege warfare, 45-52, 181, 240-249,
 253
 taking prisoners, 66-69, 71, 75
 wholesale destruction, 244, 253
 mining
 Egyptian interests, 235, 236
 torques, 99
 Migre-Ekron, Tell, 1, 106, 107, 109,
 87, 188, 214
 Mouh/Mouster (*Mou*), 157, 159,
 166, 167, 168, 176, 177, 235
 occurrences and contexts, 159
 settlement history, 160, 161, 167,
 168
 social structure of, 162
 theories of origin, 161-162
 tributary, 162
 Muzai, 35
 Nar, Tell, 1, 96, 97, 102, 109
 Nara, 159
 mudbrick Egyptian, 97, 98
 mussel shells, 131
 Mut, 68
 Mutir (*Mutir-ir*), 43, 48, 72, 157, 176

 Na'ameh, Tell es-, 147, 148
 Namarin, 159, 162, 230
 Nahr el-Kalb, 152, 153, 157, 176, 1
 Nara, Tell, 208, 210, 243
 Nasbeh, Tell es-, 211, 213
 naval bases, 92, 100-102
 Negev, 153, 154, 227
 Nehay, 98
 Nine Bows, 30, 37, 51, 56, 72, 208, 262,
 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269
 Nimeveh, 192
 nomadism, 161, 232-234, 236
 Nubia, 71, 74

 orthography, 91-92
 orthostats, 134
 ostraca, 113

 Pa-Canaan, *P. Anst.*, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45,
 49, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 70, 71, 73,
 120, 121, 131, 138, 221, 238, 257
 as Gaza, 208
 geographical extent of, 257, 258
 identification of, 257
 occurrences and context of, 257
 Papyrus Anastasi III, 259
 Papyrus Anastasi IV, 219, 224, 229, 238
 Papyrus Harris I, 40, 224, 234, 238, 249
Papirus nua membrum
 in Egyptian, 20
 in Hebrew, 20
 in Ugaritic, 20
 Pehsukhet of Thebes, 97
 Philistines, *Phil.*, 79, 162, 181, 82, 183,
 187, 206, 214, 255
 Pella/Talagaat Fahl, *Phil.*, 1, 94, 122,
 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 133,
 136, 137, 138, 150, 158, 159, 166,
 168, 190, 192, 230
 pendants, 92, 103, 112
 Petra, 107, 232, 231
 Phoenicia, 152, 153, 154, 157, 170, 208
 Pithon, 222
 plunder, 48, 63, 73, 74, 81, 87, 181, 192,
 242
 cattle, 66
 goats, 66
 weapons, 66, 73
 plundering, see also capturing
 Asatics, 72
 iconography of, 44-52
 of cities and towns, 41, 44, 52, 72,
 74, 241
 of countries, 72
 of Dapur, 42, 43
 of enemies, 72
 of Nine Bows, 20
 of Tehenu, 44
 timing of, 49, 52
 political interests (of Egypt), 96, 192
 politics (of power), 11
 pottery
 and Israelite ethnicity, 207-210
 Canaanite, 97, 111, 128, 131, 144,
 149, 166, 181
 Chocolate-on-White ware, 94
 Collared-rim store jar, 172, 207,
 208
 Cypriot, 97, 98, 108, 111, 128,
 137, 172

- Egyptian-type, 97, 98, 102-103, 108-110, 111, 139
 Mycenaean, 97, 108, 111, 28
 Mycenaean IIIb, 94, 143-144, 150-155, 206
 Mycenaean IIIc: 1b, 131, 205
 Platinine bronze, 137-139
 typology of, 9
 prisoners (see also captives), 66-69, 71
 Ptah, 180
 Ptah-Sokar, 112
 Qader Hinuma, 46
 Qattara, 29
 Qashub, 1, 209
 Qasile, Tell, 187, 190, 208, 209
 Qasr Ibrim, 36, 54, 57, 58, 70
 Qatāret es-Samrā, 168
 Qatna, 2, 148, 230
 Qiri, Tell, 209
 Qitar, el-
 Qubeibeh, 113
 Qurneh, el-, 119, 125, 133, 146
 Quweilbeh, 68
 Raba Batora, 165
 Rabbah, er-, 165, 66, 168
 Radana, 29, 21
 Rafia, 96, 99
 Ramessum, 24, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 66, 68, 152, 154, 157, 171, 176, 241
 Ramses II
 accession date, 151-152
 campaign to Cisjordan, 153-155, 168
 campaign to Beth Shan, 157-159
 campaign to Galilee, 158-159, 176
 campaign to Kadesh (Orontes), 153, 154-155, 156-159, 166
 campaign to Syria, 152, 154-155, 157-176
 campaign to Transjordan, 153, 157-167, 168, 176-177
 chronology of campaigns, 152-154, 157, 158-159
 general chronology, 151-152
 length of reign, 152
 Ramses VI, 172, 156
 Ramses VIII, 172
 Rehob, 122, 125, 138, 150
 reliefs: military, see iconography
 research design, 7-11
 integrated approach, 12
 methodology, 12-14
 Reza, Tell er-, 54, 64, 72, 249
 Retenu, *Ram.*, 33, 41, 54, 22, 241
 Rifa at, Tell, 1
 Riqqeh, 110
 Rosh, Tell, 132, 133
 Safed el Baḥi, 132, 133
 Saka, Tell, 68
 Sahab, Tell, 168, 208
 Sai, 21, 31, 71
 Saḥabeh, Tell er-, 1, 4, 67, 68
 Samaria, 29
 Saqqara, 217
 Saruna, 157, 176
 scarabs, 9, 92, 94, 97, 98, 103, 141, 112-113, 131, 208
 for dating, 113, 141
 of Amenhotep III, 143-144
 series, 15, 237
 "Sea Peoples," 100, 131, 69, 173, 183, 190, 201, 205
 seed, for
 for planting, 77
 as descendants/offspring, 7, 79
 as trees, 77-78
 as grain, 77-79, 201, 204, 205
 as weapons and context of, 11
 Set I, 119, 124, 223, 240, 23, 232, 237, 248
 Setep, 80
 Sera, Tell, 1, 93, 95, 102, 108, 109, 114, 141, 15, 175
 Serābāt el Khādim, 29, 99, 102, 116, 134
 Seteh, 119
 Set I
 accession date, 118
 campaign to Cisjordan, 129
 campaign to Transjordan, 124
 campaign in defense of Beth Shan, 124, 29, 196-197
 chronology of campaigns, 119-124
 general chronology, 118-119
 length of reign, 118
 Set II, 188, 255
 Shalmaneser III, 195
 Shalman, 130
 Sharhan/Sharuhen, *Shan.*, 153, 174-175
 Shasu, *Shan.*, 7, 13, 41, 43, 45, 54, 55

- 62, 68, 69, 72, 96, 103, 120, 122, 123, 54, 137, 161, 162, 194, 236, 237, 238, 239, 244, 255
- archaeology of, 232-235
and Edom, 224-225, 232, 235-236
and Israel, 199-201
determinatives of, 220-225
- etymology, 220
iconography of, 219-220
identification of, 220-221
location of, 227-232
nature of, 225-227
occurrences and context, 217-219
and Se'ir, 224-225, 231, 232
and *wha*, 230-231
- Se'ir, 61, 162
- Shamir, 94, 104, 133, 135, 207
- Shikmona, 79
- Shenef, Khirbet est., 2
- Shirden, 191, 199
- Shubab, Tell est., 124, 148
- Shihai (Rajm el-Abd), 160, 167
- Shihai Stela, 160, 167
- Shiloh, 205, 207, 208, 211, 213
- ships
Egyptian, 100, 101
"Sea Peoples'", 100
- Sihab, 110
- Sih, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 70, 71, 73, 96, 99, 218, 227, 259
- silo
in Egypt, 97
in southern Levant, 213-214
- Silala (E), 81, 84
- Sinatra, 120
- Sinai, 153, 154, 217, 228, 234, 236, 255
- Soreb, 154, 219, 223
- Speos Artemidos, 36, 54, 66
- spoils: see also captives, capturing, plunder, plundering, 70, 73-74, 75, 87, 89, 242
cattle, 66
copper swords, 76, 77
goats, 66
pottery, 67
vases, 67
weapons, 66, 73
- stelae, statues, and plaques, 92, 103, 107, 108, 95
- Succoth, 219, 224, 229
- Sumar, 258
- Sumerian, 196
- survey (archaeological)
Ephraim, 204
Galilee, 163-164, 204
Judaea, 204
Moab, 160
Northwest Arid el-Kerek, 160
Sinai, 97
Transjordan, 160
- sword of Merneptah, 104, 144
- sword warfare, 80, 104, 144
Naue Type II (cut-and-thrust), 104
sickle-sword, 104
- Syria, 71, 152, 153, 154, 157, 76, 227, 230, 255, 258, 259, 260
- Taanach, 207, 208, 211
- Taqi, 144
- Takhtani, prefect of Ugarit, 95
- Tam, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000
- Tell, Khirbet est., 207, 211, 213
- Temch, 80
- temples, 92, 99, 100, 113-114, 54, 139, 142, 143
- terminology
as epithets of the king, 78
describing the battle, 28-29
describing enemy defeat, 29-62
describing annihilation, 63-65
describing taking captives and plunder, 65-74
in passive form, 78
rhetorical nature of, 28, 90
statistics of, 41, 88, 24, 244
- terracing, 204, 211, 213
- textual sources
annals, 22
day-book reports, 22, 23-24
in *sp* formula reports, 23-24
King's Chronicle, 21, 22
literary reports, 23-26
toponym lists
- Thibet, 21, 22, 23, 260
- Thutmose II, 23, 217, 218
- Thutmose III, 23, 23, 69, 96, 130, 183, 221, 221
- Thutmose IV, 85, 259, 260

- Timna, 99, 100, 102, 113, 115, 116, 188, 234
 Timnah, 1
 toponym, 96, 154, 163
 identification of, 8
 tribalism, 262
 tribute: see also gifts, 65, 69-71, 115
 as contributions to the king, 71
 as gifts, 61
 as trade wares, 69
 cattle, 74
 chariots, 74
 graffes, 74
 gold, 71, 74
 lapis-lazuli, 71
 leopards, 74
 silver, 71
 skins, 74
 racks (rocks), 74
 Tumiāt, Wadi, 229
 Tump, 51, 73, 83, 153, 176, 190, 230, 243, 271, 272
 Tyre, 10
 Ugarit, 4, 95, 102, 104, 144, 188, 195, 205
 Ulu Barazi shipwreck, 272
 Ullaza, 120, 121, 138
 Umeiri, Tell el-, 1, 108, 208, 210, 243
 Umm ad-Danar, 168
 Uzu, 217
 Uzi, 258, 259
 urael, 98
 Uru, 112
 Uzu, 130
 Wadi al-Ghuweir, 232
 Wadi el-Hasa
 Wadi es-Schua', 24, 31, 36
 Wadi Samir
 warfare
 anthropology of, 1
 as ideology of, 1
 epistemology of, 11
 sociology of, 1
 Ways of Horus, 45, 96, 98, 99, 102, 207, 238, 236, 243, 255, 256
 weaponry, 122
 changes in, 103-105
 javelin points, 103-104
 spear points, 103-104
 swords, 104
 Yehudieh, Tell el-, 98
 Yeno am, Yama, 40, 55, 65, 67, 70, 71, 120, 121, 122, 129, 133, 136, 137, 138, 146, 150, 151, 153, 158, 173, 180, 183, 188, 189, 190, 196, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207, 209, 264, 265, 266, 268, 269, 272
 Yeh, 234
 Yum am, Tell, 1, 120, 47, 148, 149, 150, 184, 185, 190
 Yoque am, Tell, 1, 209
 Zeror, Tell, 208, 214
 Zipper, Tell, 1

INDEX OF TERMS

ae. ae. 29, 24
ae. ae. 43, 44, 60, 63, 65-69, 74, 87, 88
 89, 176, 181, 193, 241, 242
ae. ae. 57, 70
ae. ae. 74, 69-71, 75, 76, 80, 242
ae. ae. 18, 18
ae. 75, 76, 80, 81, 251
ae. 75

En. 147
En. 219, 223, 230, 231
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198
En. 146, 175, 188
En. 194, 196, 197, 198

- hmm*.
h 201 228
Shax 18-19 87 89
hax 114
hlp 1 9 168 271
hdb 8 89
Hdb 19
Hgner 138 139

hpt 271
h 31 35 40 52 60 67 88 89 166
 1 121 3 6 7 84 119
 225-243 3 242
h' n thine 214
h' n
h 226
h 141 86 148 249

h 87 181
h 52-53
hdb 87
hdb om 63

h 215
h 219 223 230 231
h 63-64
h 64
h 41 54-56 63 87 242
h
h 53
h 56-57 87 89
h 66
h 57
h 57-59 1 80 81 8 142 148
h 140 141 142 143 144
h 145 146 147 148 149

h 84 85
h 270
h 25 251
h 76
h 219 223 230
h 4

h 73
h 25
h 31 0 73 74 75 87
h 259
h 56

h 14
h 104

h 204
h 61 87 89

h 60 159 223 227 228 231 232 234
 235
h 24
h 24
h 163
h 31 40 53 61-62 87 89 242
h 173 174
h 57
h 64
h 64-65 242
h 40

h 32 32 56 56 163 164 165 167
 168 169 171 173 177 231
h 228
h 2
h 10

PROBLEME DER ÄGYPTOLOGIE

The *Probleme der Ägyptologie* founded in 1953 by Hermann Kees, are concerned with the religion, literature, history – political, social and economic – and language of ancient Egypt, both pharaonic, Ptolemaic and Roman, including manifestations abroad and in later times. The series accepts all serious methodological approaches

- 1 H. Kees. *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit. Indices und Nachträge*. 1958. ISBN 90 04 06231 9
- 2 E. Otto. *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit. Ihre geistesgeschichtliche und literarische Bedeutung*. 1954. ISBN 90 04 01780 1
- 3 W. Helck. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs. Register Zum 60. Geburtstag des Verfassers zusammengestellt von den Mitarbeitern der Ägyptologischen Abteilung an der Universität Hamburg*. 1975. ISBN 90 04 04162 4
- 4 H. Kees. *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Athropenzeit*. 1964. ISBN 90 04 01782 8
- 5 R. Stadelmann. *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*. 1967. ISBN 90 04 01783 6
- 6 H. te Velde. *Seth, god of confusion. A study of his role in Egyptian mythology and religion*. Reprint with corr. of the 1st (1967) ed. 1977. ISBN 90 04 04402 2
- 7 W. Guglielmi. *Die Göttin Mri. Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation*. 1991. ISBN 90 04 08814 8
- 8 D. Bonneau. *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine*. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09687 6
- 9 D. O'Connor & D. P. Silverman (eds.). *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10041 5
- 10 A. Loprieno (ed.). *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*. 1996. ISBN 90 04 09925 5
- 11 M. G. Hasel. *Domination and Resistance. Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, 1300-1185 B.C.*. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10984 6













3 1142 02631 4420



New York University
Bobst Library
70 Washington Square South
New York, NY 10012-1091

DUE DATE	DUE DATE	DUE DATE
* ALL LOAN ITEMS ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL *		
RETURNED Bobst Library MAY 24 2000 CIRCULATION		DUE DATE JAN 22 2003 Bobst Library Circulation
DUE DATE JUN 1 2003 Bobst Library Circulation		DUE DATE JAN 25 2003 JAN 13 2003 Bobst Library Circulation
DUE DATE JUL 1 2003 BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION		

